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PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and of the House of Representatives:

The annual meeting of Congress is always an interesting event. The Representatives of the States and of the people come fresh from their constituents to take counsel together for the common good. After an existence of near three-fourths of a century as a free and independent republic, the problem no longer remains to be solved, whether man is capable of self-government. The success of our admirable system is a conclusive refutation of the theories of those in other countries who maintain that "a favored few" are born to rule, and that the mass of mankind must be governed by force. Subject to no arbitrary or hereditary authority, the people are the only sovereigns recognized by our constitution. Numerous emigrants of every lineage and language, attracted by the civil and religious freedom we enjoy, and by our happy condition, annually crowd to our shores, and transfer their heart, not less than their allegiance, to the country whose dominion belongs alone to the people.

No country has been so much favored, or should acknowledge with deeper reverence the manifestations of the Divine protection. An all-wise Creator directed and guarded us in our infant struggle for freedom, and has constantly watched over our surprising progress, until we have become one of the great nations of the earth.

It is in a country thus favored, and under a government in which the executive and legislative branches hold their authority for limited periods, alike from the people, and where all are responsible to their respective constituencies, that it is again my duty to communicate with Congress upon the state of the Union, and the present condition of public affairs.

During the past year the most gratifying proofs are presented that our country has been blessed with a wide-spread and universal prosperity. There has been no period since the government was founded, when all the industrial pursuits of our people have been more successful, or when labor in all branches of business has received a fairer or better reward. From our abundance we have been enabled to perform the pleasing duty of furnishing food for the starving millions of less favored countries.

In the enjoyment of the bounties of Providence at home, such as have rarely fallen to the lot of any people, it is cause of congratulation, that our intercourse with all the Powers of the earth, except Mexico, continues to be of a friendly character.

It has ever been our cherished policy to cultivate peace and good-will with all nations; and this policy has been steadily pursued by me.

No change has taken place in our relations with Mexico since the adjournment of the last Congress. The war in which the United States were forced to engage with the government of that country, still continues.

I deem it unnecessary, after the full exposition of them contained in my message of the eleventh of May, 1846, and in my annual message at the commencement of the session of Congress in December last, to reiterate the serious causes of complaint which we had against Mexico before she commenced hostilities.

It is sufficient on the present occasion to say, that the wanton violations of the rights of persons and property of our citizens committed by Mexico, her repeated acts of bad faith through a long series of years, and her disregard of solemn treaties, stipulating for indemnity to our injured citizens, not only constituted ample cause of war on our part, but were of such an aggravated character as would have justified us before the whole world in resorting to this extreme remedy.

With an anxious desire to avoid a rupture between the two countries, we forebore for years to assert our clear rights by force, and continued to seek redress for the wrongs we had suffered by amicable negotiation, in the hope that Mexico might yield to pacific counsels and the demands of justice. But this hope we were disappointed. Our minister of peace sent to Mexico was insultingly rejected, the Mexican Government refused even to hear the terms of adjustment which he was authorized to propose; and finally, under wholly unjustifiable pretexts, involved the two countries in war by invading the territory of the State of Texas, striking the first blow and shedding the blood of our citizens on our own soil.

Though the United States were the aggrieved nation, Mexico commenced the war, and we were compelled in self-defence to repel the invader, and to vindicate the national honor and interest by prosecuting it with vigor until we could obtain a just and honorable peace.

On learning that hostilities had been commenced by Mexico, I promptly communicated that fact, accompanied with a succinct statement of our other causes of complaint against Mexico, to Congress; and that body, by the act of the thirteenth of May, 1846, declared that "by the act of the republic of Mexico, a state of war exists between that government and the United States"—this act declaring "the war to exist by the act of the republic of Mexico," and making provision for its prosecution "to a speedy and successful termination," was passed with great unanimity by Congress, there being but two negative votes in the Senate, and but fourteen in the House of Representatives.

The existence of the war having thus been declared by Congress, it became my duty, under the Constitution and the laws, to conduct and prosecute it. This duty has been performed. And though at every stage of its progress I have manifested a willingness to terminate it by a just peace, Mexico has refused to accede to any terms which could be accepted by the United States consistently with the national honor and interest.

The rapid and brilliant successes of our arms, and the vast extent of the enemy's territory which had been overrun and conquered, before the close of the last session of Congress, were fully known to that body. Since that time, the war has been prosecuted with increased energy, and I am gratified to state with a success which commands universal admiration. History presents no parallel of so many glorious victories achieved by any nation within so short a period. Our army, regulars and volunteers, have covered themselves with imperishable honors. Wherever and wherever our forces have encountered the enemy, though he was in vastly superior numbers, and often entrenched in fortified positions of his own selection, and of great strength, he has been defeated. Too much praise cannot be bestowed upon our officers and men, regulars and volunteers, for their gallantry, discipline, indomitable courage and perseverance, all seeking the post of danger, and vieing with each other in deeds of noble daring.

While every patriot's heart must exult, and a just national pride animate every bosom in beholding the high proofs of courage, consummate military skill, steady discipline, and humanity to the vanquished enemy, exhibited by our gallant army, the nation is called to mourn over the loss of many brave officers and soldiers who have fallen in defence of their country's honor and interests. The brave dead met their melancholy fate in a foreign land, nobly discharging their duty, and with their country's flag waving triumphantly in the face of the foe. Their patriotic deeds are justly appreciated, and will long be remembered by their grateful countrymen. The parental care of the government they loved and served, should be extended to their surviving families.

Shortly after the adjournment of the last session of Congress, the gratifying intelligence was received of the signal victory of Buena Vista, and of the fall of the City of Vera Cruz, and with it the strong Castle of San Juan de Ulua, by which it was defended. Believing that after these and other successes so honorable to our arms and so disastrous to Mexico, the period was propitious to afford her another opportunity, if she thought proper to embrace it, to enter into negotiations for peace, a Commissioner was appointed to proceed to the headquarters of our army with full powers to enter upon negotiations and to conclude a just and honorable Treaty of Peace. He was not directed to make any new overtures of peace, but was the bearer of a dispatch from the Secretary of State of the United States to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Mexico, in reply to one received from the latter of the twenty-second of February, 1847, in which the Mexican government was informed of his appointment, and of his presence at the headquarters of our army, and that he was invested with full powers to conclude a definitive treaty of peace, whenever the Mexican government might signify a desire to do so. While I was unwilling to subject the United States to another indignant refusal, I was yet resolved that the evils of the war should not be protracted a day longer than might be rendered absolutely necessary by the Mexican government.

Care was taken to give no instructions to the commissioner which could in any way interfere with our military operations or relax our energies in the prosecution of the war. He possessed no authority in any manner to control these operations. He was authorized to exhibit his instructions to the General in command of the army; and in the event of the Treaty being concluded and ratified on the part of Mexico, he was directed to give him notice of that fact. On the happening of such contingency, and on receiving notice thereof, the General in command was instructed by the Secretary of War to suspend farther active military operations until farther orders. These instructions were given with a view to intermit hostilities, until the treaty thus ratified by Mexico, could be transmitted to Washington, and receive the action of the government of the United States.

The commissioner was also directed, on reaching the army, to deliver to the General in command the dispatch which he bore from the Secretary of State to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Mexico, and on receiving it, the General was instructed by the Secretary of War to cause it to be transmitted to the commander of the Mexican forces, with a request that it might be communicated to his government.

The commissioner did not reach the headquarters of the army until another brilliant victory had crowned our arms at Cerro Gordo.

The dispatch which he bore from the Secretary of War to the General in command of the army was received by that officer, then at Jalapa, on the seventh day of May, 1847, together with the dispatch from the Secretary of State to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Mexico, having been transmitted to him from Vera Cruz. The commissioner arrived at the headquarters of the army a few days afterward. His presence with the army, and his diplomatic character, were made known to the Mexican Government from Puebla on the 12th June, 1847, by the transmission of the dispatch from the Secretary of State to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Mexico. Many weeks elapsed after its receipt, and no overtures were made, nor was any desire expressed by the Mexican Government to enter into negotiations for peace.

Our army pursued its march upon the capital, and, as it approached it, was met by formidable resistance. Our forces first encountered the enemy, and achieved signal victories in the severely contested battles of Contreras and Churubusco.—It was not until after these actions had resulted in decisive victories, and the capital of the enemy was within our power, that the Mexican government manifested any disposition to enter into negotiations for peace; and even then, as events have proved, there is too much reason to believe they were insincere, and that in agreeing to go through the forms of negotiation, the object was to gain time to strengthen the defences of their capital, and to prepare for fresh resistance.

The General in command of the army deemed it expedient to suspend hostilities temporarily, by entering into an armistice with a view to the opening of negotiations. Commissioners were appointed on the part of Mexico to meet the commissioner on the part of the United States. The result of the conferences which took place between these functionaries of the two governments was a failure to conclude a treaty of peace.

The commissioner of the United States took with him the project of a treaty already prepared, by the terms of which the indemnity required by the United States was a cession of territory. It is well known that the only indemnity which it is in the power of Mexico to make in satisfaction of the just and long deferred claims of our citizens against her, and the only means by which she can reimburse the United States for the expenses of the war, is a cession to the United States of a portion of her territory. Mexico has no money to pay, and no other means of making the required indemnity. If we refuse this, we can obtain nothing else. To reject indemnity, by refusing to accept a cession of territory, would be to abandon all our just demands, and to wage the war, bearing all its expenses, without a purpose or definite object.

A state war abrogates treaties previously existing between the belligerents, and a treaty of peace puts an end to all claims for indemnity—for tortious acts committed, under the authority of one government against the citizens or subjects of another, unless they are provided for in its stipulations. A treaty of peace which would terminate the existing war, without providing for indemnity, would enable Mexico—the acknowledged debtor, and herself the aggressor in the war—to relieve herself from her just liabilities. By such a treaty, our citizens, who hold just demands against her, would have no remedy either against Mexico or their own government. Our duty to these citizens must forever prevent such a peace, and no treaty which does not provide ample means of discharging these demands can receive my sanction.

A treaty of peace should settle all existing differences between the two countries. If an adequate cession of territory should be made by such a treaty, the United States should release Mexico from all her liabilities, and assume their payment to our own citizens. If, instead of this, the United States were to consent to a treaty by which Mexico should again engage to pay the heavy amount of indebtedness which a just indemnity to our government and our citizens would impose on her, it is notorious that she does not possess the means to meet such an undertaking. From such a treaty no result could be anticipated, but the same irritating disappointments which have heretofore attended the violations of similar treaty stipulations on the part of Mexico. Such a treaty would be but a temporary cessation of hostilities, without the restoration of the friendship and good understanding which should characterize the future intercourse between the two countries.

That Congress contemplated the acquisition of territorial indemnity when that body made provision for the prosecution of the war, is obvious. Congress could not have meant—when, in May, 1846, they appropriated ten millions of dollars, and authorized the President to employ the militia and naval and military forces of the United States, and to accept the services of fifty thousand volunteers, to enable him to prosecute the war; and when, at their last session, and after our army had invaded Mexico, they made additional appropriations and authorized the raising of additional troops for the same purpose—that no indemnity was to be obtained from Mexico at the conclusion of the war; and yet it was certain that if no Mexican territory was acquired, no indemnity could be obtained.

It is farther manifest that Congress contemplated territorial indemnity, from the fact that at their last Session an act was passed upon the Executive recommendation, appropriating 3,000,000 of dollars with that express object. This appropriation was made "to enable the President to conclude a treaty of peace, limits and boundaries with the republic of Mexico, to be used by him in the event that such treaty when signed by the authorized agents of the governments, and duly ratified by Mexico, shall call for the expenditure of the same, or any part thereof." The object of asking this appropriation was distinctly stated in the several messages on the subject which I communicated to Congress. Similar appropriations made in 1803 and 1806, which were referred to, were intended to be applied to part consideration for the cession of Louisiana and the Floridas.

In like manner it was anticipated that, in settling the terms of a treaty of "limits and boundaries" with Mexico, a cession of territory estimated to be of greater value than the amount of our demands against her might be obtained; and that the prompt payment of this sum—in part consideration for the territory ceded—on the conclusion of a treaty, and its ratification on her part, might be an inducement with her to make such a cession of territory as would be satisfactory to the United States. And although the failure to conclude such a treaty has rendered it unnecessary to use any part of the three millions of dollars appropriated by that act, and the entire sum remains in the treasury, it is still applicable to that object, should the contingency occur making such application proper.

The doctrine of no territory is the doctrine of no indemnity, and its sanction would be a public acknowledgment that our country was wrong and that the war declared by Congress with extraordinary unanimity was unjust and should be abandoned; an admission unfounded in fact, and degrading to the national character.

The terms of the treaty proposed by the United States were not only just to Mexico, but, considering the character and amount of our claims, the unjustifiable and unprovoked commencement of hostilities by her, the expenses of the war to which we have been subjected, and the success which had attended our arms, were deemed to be of a most liberal character.

The commissioner of the United States was authorized to agree to the establishment of the Rio Grande as the boundary, from its entrance into the Gulf to its intersection with the southern boundary of New-Mexico, in north latitude about thirty-two degrees, and to obtain a cession to the United States of the provinces of New-Mexico and the Californias, and the privilege of the right of way across the isthmus of Tehuantepec. The boundary of the Rio Grande, and the cession to the United States of New Mexico and Upper California, constituted an ultimatum which our commissioner was, under no circumstances, to yield.

That it might be manifest not only to Mexico, but to all other nations, that the United States were not disposed to take advantage of a feebler power, by insisting upon wresting from her all the other provinces, including many of her principal towns and cities, which they had conquered and held in our possession by conquest, but were willing to conclude a treaty in a spirit of liberality, our commissioner was authorized to stipulate for the restoration to Mexico of all our other conquests.

As the territory to be acquired by the boundary proposed might be estimated to be of greater value than a fair equivalent for our just demands, our commissioner was authorized to stipulate for the payment of such additional pecuniary consideration as was deemed reasonable.

The terms of the treaty proposed by the Mexican Commissioners were wholly inadmissible.—They negotiated as if Mexico were the victorious and not the vanquished party. They must have known that their ultimatum could never be accepted. It required the United States to dismember Texas, by surrendering to Mexico that part of the territory of that State lying between the Nueces and the Rio Grande, included within her limits by her laws when she was an independent republic, and when she was annexed to the United States and admitted by Congress as one of the States of our Union. It contained no provision for the payment by Mexico of the just claims of our citizens.

It required indemnity to Mexican citizens for injuries they may have sustained by our troops in the prosecution of the war. It demanded the right for Mexico to levy and collect the Mexican tariff of duties on goods imported into her ports while in our military occupation during the war, and the owners of which had paid to officers of the United States the military contributions which had been levied upon them; and it offered to cede to the United States, for a pecuniary consideration, that part of Upper California lying north of latitude thirty-seven degrees. Such were the unreasonable terms proposed by the Mexican commissioners.

The cession to the United States by Mexico of the provinces of New Mexico and the Californias, as proposed by the Commissioner of the United States, it was believed would be more in accordance with the convenience and interest of both nations than any other cession of territory which it was probable Mexico could be induced to make.

It is manifest to all who have observed the actual condition of the Mexican government for some years past and at present, that if these provinces should be retained by her, she could not long continue to hold and govern them. Mexico is too feeble a power to govern these provinces, lying as they do at a distance of more than a thousand miles from her capital, and, if attempted to be retained by her they would constitute but for a short time, even nominally, a part of her dominions.

This would be especially the case with Upper California. The sagacity of powerful European nations has long since directed their attention to the commercial importance of that province, and there can be little doubt that the moment the United States shall relinquish their present occupation of it, and their claim to it as indemnity, an effort would be made by some foreign power to possess it, either by conquest or by purchase. If no foreign government should acquire it in either of these modes, an independent revolutionary government would probably be established by the inhabitants and such foreigners as may remain in or remove to the country, as soon as it shall be known that the United States have abandoned it. Such a government would be too feeble long to maintain its separate independent existence, and would finally become annexed to, or be a dependent colony of, some more powerful State.

Should any foreign government attempt to possess it as a colony, or otherwise to incorporate it with itself, the principle avowed by President Monroe in 1824, and reaffirmed in my first annual message, that no foreign Power shall, with our consent, be permitted to plant or establish any new colony or dominion on any part of the North American continent, must be maintained. In maintaining this principle, and in resisting its invasion by any foreign Power, we might be involved in other wars more expensive and more difficult than that in which we are now engaged.

The provinces of New Mexico and the Californias are contiguous to the territories of the United States, and if brought under the government of our laws, their resources—mineral, agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial—would soon be developed.

Upper California is bounded on the north by our Oregon possessions; and if held by the United States, would soon be settled by a hardy, enterprising, and intelligent portion of our population. The Bay of San Francisco, and other harbors along the Californian coast, would afford shelter for our navy, for our numerous whale ships, and other merchant vessels employed in the Pacific Ocean, and would in a short period become the marts of an extensive and profitable commerce with China, and other countries of the East.

These advantages, in which the whole commercial world would participate, would at once be secured to the United States by the cession of this territory; while it is certain that as long as it remains a part of the Mexican dominions, they can be enjoyed neither by Mexico herself nor by any other nation.

New-Mexico is a frontier province, and has never been of any considerable value to Mexico. From its locality, it is naturally connected with our western settlements. The territorial limits of the State of Texas, too, as defined by her laws, before her admission into our Union, embrace all that portion of New Mexico lying east of the Rio Grande, while Mexico still claims to hold this territory as part of her dominions. The adjustment of this question of boundary is important.

There is another consideration which induced the belief that the Mexican government might be disposed even to listen to the overtures of the United States to prevent the war, as is fully confirmed by an official correspondence which took place in the month of August last, between him and his government, a copy of which I transmitted to Congress. Unprepared alone, the revolution which displaced him from power was set on foot" by General Paredes. Such may be the condition of insecurity of the present government.

There can be no doubt that the peaceable and well-disposed inhabitants of Mexico are convinced that it is the true interest of their country to conclude an honorable peace with the United States; but the apprehension of becoming the victims of some military faction or usurper may have prevented them from manifesting their wishes. The removal of any cause of such apprehension would probably cause them to speak their sentiments freely, and to adopt the measures necessary for the restoration of peace. With a people distracted and overthrown; and that their rights of person and private property would be violated. To remove these false impressions, our commanders in the field were directed scrupulously to respect their religion, their churches, and their church property, which were in no way to be violated; they were directed also to respect the rights of persons and property of all who should not take up arms against us.

Assurances to this effect were given to the Mexican people by Major General Taylor, in a proclamation issued in pursuance of instructions from the Secretary of War, in the month of June, 1846, and again by Major General Scott, who acted upon his own convictions of the propriety of issuing it in a proclamation of the 11th of May, 1847.

"In this spirit of liberality and conciliation, and with a view to prevent the body of the Mexican population from taking up arms against us, was the war conducted on our part. Provisions and other supplies furnished to our army by Mexican citizens were paid for at fair and liberal prices agreed upon by the parties. After the lapse of a few months, it became apparent that these assurances, and this mild treatment, had failed to produce the desired effect upon the Mexican population. While the war had been conduced on our part according to the most humane and liberal principles observed by civilized nations, it was waged in a far different spirit on the part of Mexico. Not appreciating our forbearance, the Mexican people generally became hostile to the United States, and availed themselves of every opportunity to commit the most savage excesses upon our troops. Large numbers of the population took up arms, and, engaging in guerilla warfare, robbed and murdered in the most cruel manner individual soldiers, or small parties, whom accident or other causes had separated from the main body of our army; bands of guerilleros and robbers infested the roads, harrassed our trains, and, whenever it was in their power, cut off our supplies.

The Mexicans having thus shown themselves to be wholly incapable of appreciating our forbearance and liberality, it was deemed proper to change the manner of conducting the war, by making them feel its pressure according to the usages observed under similar circumstances by all other civilized nations.

Accordingly, as early as the twenty-second day of September, 1846, instructions were given by the Secretary of War to Maj.Gen. Taylor to "draw supplies" for our army "from the enemy, without paying for them, and to require contributions for its support." If in that way he was satisfied he could "get abundant supplies for his forces." In directing the execution of these instructions, much was necessarily left to the discretion of the commanding officer, who was best acquainted with the circumstances by which he was surrounded, the wants of the army, and the practicability of enforcing the measure.

Gen. Taylor, on the twenty-sixth of October, 1846, replied, from Monterey, that "it would have been impossible hitherto, and is so now, to sustain the army to any extent by forced contributions of money or supplies." For the reasons assigned by him, he did not adopt the policy of his instructions, but declared his readiness to do so, "should the army, in its future operations, reach a portion of the country which may be made to supply the troops with advantage." He continued to pay for the articles of supply which were drawn from the enemy's country.

Similar instructions were issued to Major General Scott on the third of April, 1847, who replied from Jalapa, on the twentieth of May, 1847, that if it be expected that "the army is to support itself by forced contributions levied upon the country, we may ruin and exasperate the inhabitants, and starve ourselves." The same discretion was given to him that had been to Gen. Taylor in this respect. Gen. Scott, for the reasons assigned by him, also continued to pay for the articles of supply for the army which were drawn from the enemy.

After the army had reached the heart of the most wealthy portion of Mexico, it was supposed that the obstacles which had before that time prevented it would not be such as to render impracticable the levy of forced contributions for its support; and on the 1st of September, and again on the 6th of October, 1847, the order was repeated in dispatches addressed by the Secretary of War to Gen. Scott, and his attention was again called to the importance of making the enemy bear the burdens of the war, by requiring them to furnish the means of supporting our army; and he was directed to adopt this policy, unless, by doing so, there was danger of depriving the army of the necessary supplies. Copies of these dispatches were forwarded to Gen. Taylor for his government.

On the 31st of March last I caused an order to be issued to our military and naval commanders to levy and collect a military contribution, on all vessels and merchandize which might enter any of the ports of Mexico in our military occupation, and to apply such contributions toward defraying the expenses of the war. By virtue of the right of conquest and the laws of war, the conqueror, consulting his own safety or convenience, may either exclude foreign commerce altogether from all such ports, or permit it upon such terms and conditions as he may prescribe. Before the principal ports of Mexico were blockaded by our navy, the revenue derived from import duties, under the laws of Mexico, was paid into the Mexican treasury. After these ports had fallen into our military possession, the blockade was raised, and commerce with them permitted upon prescribed terms and conditions. They were opened to the trade of all nations upon the payment of duties more moderate in their amount than those which had been previously levied by Mexico; and the revenue, which was formerly paid into the Mexican treasury, was directed to be collected by our military and naval officers, and applied the use of our army and navy. Care was taken that the officers, soldiers and sailors of our army and navy should be exempted from the operations of the order; and as the merchandise imported upon which the order operated must be purchased by Mexican citizens, the contributions exacted were, in effect, the seizure of the public revenues of Mexico, and the application of them to our own use." In directing this measure, the object was to compel the enemy to contribute, as far as practicable, toward the expenses of the war.

For the amount of contributions which have been levied in this form, I refer you to the accompanying reports of the Secretary of War and of the Secretary of the Navy, by which it appears that a sum exceeding half a million of dollars has been collected.

This amount would undoubtedly have been much larger, but for the difficulty of keeping open communications between the coast and the interior, so as to enable the owners of the merchandise imported, to transport and vend it to the inhabitants of the country. It is confidently expected that this difficulty will, to a great extent, be soon removed by our increased forces which have been sent to the field.

Measures have recently been adopted by which the internal as well as external revenues of Mexico, in all places in our military occupation, will be seized and appropriated to the use of our army and navy.

The policy of levying upon the enemy contributions in every form, consistently with the laws of nations, which it may be practicable for our military commanders to adopt, should, in my judgment, be rigidly enforced, and orders to this effect have accordingly been given. By such a policy, at the same time that our own treasury will be relieved from a heavy drain, the Mexican people will be made to feel the burdens of the war, and consulting their own interests, may be induced the more readily to require their rulers to accede to a just peace.

After the adjournment of the last session of Congress, events transpired in the prosecution of the war which, in my judgment, required a greater number of troops in the field than had been anticipated. The strength of the army was accordingly increased by "accepting" the services of all the volunteer forces authorized by the act of the thirteenth of May, 1846, without putting a construction upon the conditions of which we seriously questioned. The volunteer forces now in the field, with those which had been "accepted," to "serve for twelve months," and were discharged at the end of their term of service, exhaust the fifty thousand men authorized by that act. Such, however, is the organization of the army which our government has established, and such its efficiency, that, in addition to the force which would have been called for and accepted; but doubts existing upon this point, the power was not exercised.

It is deemed important that Congress should, at an early period of their session, confer the authority to raise an additional regular force to serve during the war with Mexico, and to be discharged upon the conclusion of a treaty of peace with Mexico. The most vigorous measures for the augmentation of these contributions have been directed, and a very considerable sum is expected from that source. Its amount cannot, however, be calculated with any certainty. It is recommended that the loan to be made be authorized upon the same terms, and for the same time, as that which was authorized under the provisions of the act of the twenty-eighth of January, 1847.

Should the war with Mexico be continued until the 30th of June, 1849, it is estimated that a farther loan of twenty million five hundred thousand dollars will be required for the fiscal year ending on that day, in case no duty be imposed on tea and coffee, and the public lands be not reduced and graduated in price, and no military contributions shall be collected in Mexico. If the duty on tea and coffee be imposed, and the lands be reduced and graduated in price, as proposed, the loan may be reduced to seventeen millions of dollars, and be subject to be still further reduced by the amount of the military contributions which may be collected in Mexico. It is not proposed, however, at present, to ask Congress for authority to negotiate this loan for the next fiscal year, as it is hoped that the loan asked for during the present fiscal year, aided by military contributions which may be collected in Mexico, may be sufficient.—If, contrary to my expectation, there should be a necessity for it, the fact will be communicated to Congress in time for the action during the present session. In no event will a sum exceeding six millions of dollars of this amount be needed before the meeting of the session of Congress in December, 1848.

The act of the thirtieth of July, 1846, "reducing the duties on imports," has been in force since the first of December last; and I am gratified to state, that all the beneficial effects which were anticipated from its operation have been fully realized. The revenue derived from customs during the year ending on the first of December, 1847, exceeds by more than eight millions of dollars the amount received in the preceding year under the operation of the act of 1842, which was superseded and repealed by it. Its effects are visible in the great and almost unexampled prosperity which prevails in every branch of business.

While the repeal of the prohibitory and restrictive duties of the act of 1842, and the substitution in their place of reasonable revenue rates levied on articles imported according to their actual value, has increased the revenue and augmented our foreign trade, all the great interests of the country have been advanced and promoted.

The great and important interests of agriculture, which had been not only too much neglected but actually taxed under the protective policy for the benefit of other interests, have been relieved of the burdens which that policy imposed on them; and our farmers and planters, under a more just and liberal commercial policy, are finding new and profitable markets abroad for their augmented products.

Our commerce is rapidly increasing, and is extending more widely the circle of international exchanges.—Great as has been the increase of our imports during the past year, our exports of domestic products sold in foreign markets have been still greater.

Our navigating interest is eminently prosperous. The number of vessels built in the United States has been greater than during any preceding period of equal length. Large profits have been derived by those who have constructed as well as by those who have navigated them. Should the ratio of increase in the number of our merchant vessels be progressive, and be as great for the future as during the past year, the time is not distant when our tonnage and commercial marine will be larger than that of any other nation in the world.

While the interests of agriculture, of commerce, and of navigation have been enlarged and invigorated, it is highly gratifying to observe that our manufactures are also in a prosperous condition. None of the ruinous effects upon this interest, which were apprehended by some, as the result of the operation of the revenue system established by the act of 1846, have been experienced. On the contrary, the number of manufactories, and the amount of capital invested in them, is steadily and rapidly increasing, affording gratifying proofs that American enterprize and skill employed in this branch of domestic industry, with no other advantages than those fairly and incidentally accruing from a just system of revenue duties, are abundantly able to meet successfully all competition from abroad, and still derive fair and remunerating profits.

While capital invested in manufactures is yielding adequate and fair profits under the new system, the wages of labor, whether employed in manufactures, agriculture, commerce, or navigation, have been augmented. The tolling millions of operatives, whose daily labor furnishes the supply of food and raiment, and all the necessaries and comforts of life, are receiving higher wages, and more steady and permanent employment than in any other country, or at any previous period of our own history.

So successful have been all our branches of industry, that a foreign war, which generally diminishes the resources of a nation, has in no essential degree retarded our onward progress, or checked our general prosperity.

With such gratifying evidences of prosperity, and of the successful operation of the revenue act of 1846, every consideration of public policy recommends that it shall remain unchanged. It is hoped that the system of impost duties which it established may be regarded as the permanent policy of the country, and that the great interests affected by it may not again be subject to be plundered and ruined, as they have heretofore been, by frequent and sometimes sudden changes.

For the purpose of increasing the revenue, and without changing or modifying the rates imposed by the act of 1846 on the dutiable articles embraced by its provisions, I again recommend to your favorable consideration the expediency of levying a revenue duty on tea and coffee. The policy which exempted these articles from duty during peace, and when the revenue to be derived from them was not needed, ceases to exist when the country is engaged in war, and requires the use of all its available resources. It is a tax which would be so generally diffused among the people, that it would be felt oppressively by none, and be complained of by none. It is believed that there are not, in the list of imported articles, any which are more properly the subject of war duties than tea and coffee.

It is estimated that three millions of dollars would be derived annually by a moderate duty imposed on these articles.

Should Congress avail itself of this additional source of revenue, not only would the amount of the public loan rendered necessary by the war with Mexico be diminished to that extent, but the public credit, and the public confidence in the ability and determination of the government to meet all its engagements promptly, would be more firmly established, and the reduced amount of the loan which it may be necessary to negotiate could probably be obtained at cheaper rates.

Congress is, therefore, called upon to determine whether it is wise to impose the war duties recommended, or, by omitting to do so, increase the public debt annually three millions of dollars so long as loans shall be required to prosecute the war, and afterward provide, in some other form, to pay the semi-annual interest upon it, and ultimately to extinguish the principal. If, in addition to these duties, Congress should graduate and reduce the price of such of the public lands as experience has proved will not command the price placed upon them by the government, an additional annual income to the treasury of between half a million and a million of dollars, it is estimated, would be derived from this source. Should both measures receive the sanction of Congress, the annual amount of public debt necessary to be contracted during the continuance of the war would be reduced near four millions of dollars.

The duties recommended to be levied on tea and coffee, it is proposed shall be limited in their duration to the end of the war, and until the public debt rendered necessary to be contracted by it shall be discharged. The amount of the public debt to be contracted should be limited to the lowest practicable sum, and should be extinguished as early after the conclusion of the war as the means of the treasury will permit.

With this view, it is recommended that, as soon as the war shall be over, all the surplus in the treasury, not needed for other indispensable objects, shall constitute a sinking fund, and be applied to the purchase of the funded debt, and that authority be conferred by law for that purpose.

The act of the sixth of August, 1846, "to establish a warehousing system," has been in operation more than a year, and has proved to be an important auxiliary to the tariff act of 1846, in augmenting the revenue, and extending the commerce of the country. While it has tended to enlarge commerce, it has been beneficial to our manufactures, by diminishing forced sales at auction of foreign goods at low prices, to raise the duties to be advanced on them, and by checking fluctuations in the market. The system, although sanctioned by the experience of other countries, was entirely new in the United States, and is susceptible of improvement in some of its provisions. The Secretary of the Treasury upon whom was devolved large discretionary powers in carrying this measure into effect, has collected, and is now collating, the practical results of the system in other countries, where it has long been established, and will report as an early period of your session such further regulations suggested by the investigation as may render it still more effective and beneficial.

By the act to "provide for the better organization of the Treasury, and for the collection, safe keeping and disbursement of the public revenue," all banks were discontinued as fiscal agents of the government, and the paper currency issued by them was no longer permitted to be received in payment of public dues.

The Constitutional Treasury created by this act went into operation on the 1st of January last. Under the system established by it, the public moneys have been collected, safely kept and disbursed by the direct agency of officers of the government in gold and silver; and transfers of large amounts have been made from points of collections to points of disbursement, without loss to the Treasury, or injury or inconvenience to the trade of the country.

While the fiscal operations of the government have been conducted with regularity and ease, under this system, it has had a salutary effect in checking and preventing an undue influtionof the paper currency issued by the banks which existed under the charters. Requiring, as it does, all dues to the government to be paid in gold and silver, its effect is to restrain excessive issues of bank paper by the banks disproportioned to the specie in their vaults, for the reason that they are at all times liable to be called on by the holders of their notes for their redemption, in order to obtain specie for the payment of duties and other public dues. The banks, therefore, must keep their business within prudent limits, and be able to command specie to meet such calls, or run the hazard of being compelled to suspend specie payments, and be thereby discredited.

The amount of specie imported into the United States during the last fiscal year was twenty-four million one hundred and two thousand two hundred and eighty-nine dollars; of which there was detained in the country twenty-two million two hundred and seventy-six thousand one hundred and seventy dollars. Had the former financial system prevailed, and the public moneys been deposited by those who have specie to the highest bidders, at premiums varying from par, the whole of this amount would have gone into their vaults not to be thrown into circulation by them, but to be withheld from the hands of the people as a currency, and made the basis of new and enormous issues of bank paper. A large proportion of the specie imported has been paid into the treasury for public dues; and after having been, to a great extent, recoined at the mint, has been paid out to the public creditors, and gone into circulation as a currency among the people. The amount of gold and silver coin now in circulation in the country is larger than at any former period.

The financial system established by the constitutional treasury has been, thus far, eminently successful in its operation, and I recommend to the favorable notice of its essential provisions, and especially to that vital provision which wholly separates the government from all connection with banks, and excludes bank paper from all receipts and payments.

In some of its details, not involving its general principles, the system is defective, and will require modification. These defects, and such amendments as are deemed important, were set forth in the last annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury. These amendments are again recommended to the early and favorable consideration of Congress.

During the past year, the coinage at the mint and its branches exceeded twenty millions of dollars. This has consisted chiefly in converting the coins of foreign countries into American coin.

The largest amount of foreign coin imported has been received at New-York; and if a branch mint was established at that city, all the foreign coin received at that port could at once be converted into our own coin, without the expense, risk, and delay of transporting it to the mint for that purpose, and the amount recoined would be much larger.

Experience has proved that foreign coin, and especially foreign gold coin, will not circulate extensively as a currency among the people. The important measure of extending our specie circulation, both of gold and silver, and of diffusing it among the people, can only be effected by converting such foreign coin into American coin. I repeat the recommendation contained in my last annual message for the establishment of a branch of the mint of the United States at the City of New-York.

The gold dollars and half eagles which had been coined, and were ready for market have been proclaimed for sale during the past year. The quantity offered and to be offered for sale, under proclamations issued since the first of January last, amounts to nine million one hundred and thirty-eight thousand five hundred and thirty-one acres. The prosperity of the Western States and territories in which these lands lie will be advanced by their speedy sale. By withholding them from market, their growth and increase of population would be retarded, while thousands of our enterprizing and meritorious frontier population would be deprived of the opportunity of securing freeholds for themselves and their families.

But in addition to the general considerations which rendered the early sale of these lands proper, it was a leading object at this time to derive as large a sum as possible from this source, and thus diminish, by that amount, the public loan rendered necessary by the existence of a foreign war.

It is estimated that no less than ten millions of acres of the public lands will be surveyed and be in a condition to be proclaimed for sale during the year 1848.

In my last annual message I presented the reasons which, in my judgment, rendered it proper to graduate and reduce the price of such of the public lands as have remained unsold for long periods after they had been offered for sale at public auction.

Many millions of acres of public lands lying within the limits of several of the Western States have been offered in the market, and been subject to sale at private entry for more than twenty years, and large quantities for more than thirty years, at the lowest price prescribed by the existing laws, and it has been found that they will not command that price. They must remain unsold and uncultivated for an indefinite period, unless the price demanded for them by the government shall be reduced. No satisfactory reason is perceived why they should be longer held at rates above their real value. At the present period an additional reason exists for adopting the measures recommended.

When the country is engaged in a foreign war, and we must necessarily resort to loans, it would seem to be the dictate of wisdom that we should avail ourselves of all our resources, and thus limit the amount of the public indebtedness to the lowest possible sum.

I recommend that the existing laws on the subject of preemption rights be amended and modified so as to operate prospectively, and to embrace all who may settle upon the public lands and make improvements upon them before they are surveyed, as well as afterward, in all cases where such settlements may be made after the Indian title shall have been extinguished.

If the right of preemption be thus extended, it will embrace a large and meritorious class of our citizens.—It will increase the number of small freeholders upon our borders, who will be enabled thereby to educate their children and otherwise improve their condition, while they will be found at all times, as they have ever proved themselves to be, in the hour of danger to their country, among our hardiest and best volunteer soldiers, ever ready to tender their services in cases of emergency, and among the last to leave the field as long as an enemy remains to be encountered. Such a policy will also impress these patriotic pioneer emigrants with deeper feelings of gratitude for the parental care of their government, when they find their dearest interests secured to them by the permanent laws of the land, and that they are no longer in danger of losing their homes and hard-earned improvements by being brought into competition with a more wealthy class of purchasers at the land sales.

The attention of Congress was invited, at their last and the preceding session, to the importance of establishing a Territorial government over our possessions in Oregon; and it is to be regretted that there was no legislation on the subject. Our citizens who inhabit that distant region of country are left without the protection of our laws, or any regularly organized government. Before the question of limits and boundaries of the territory of Oregon was definitely settled, from the necessity of their condition, the inhabitants had established a temporary government of their own.

Besides the want of legal authority for continuing such a Government, it is wholly inadequate to protect them in their rights of person and property, or to secure to them the enjoyment of the privileges of other citizens, to which they are entitled under the constitution of the United States. They should have the right of suffrage, be represented in a Territorial legislature, and by a delegate in Congress; and possess all the rights and privileges which citizens of other portions of the Territories of the United States have heretofore enjoyed, or may now enjoy.

Our judicial system, revenue laws, laws regulating trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, and the protection of our laws generally, should be extended over them.

In addition to the inhabitants in that territory who had previously emigrated to it, large numbers of our citizens have followed them during the present year; and it is not doubted that during the next and subsequent years their numbers will be greatly increased.

Congress, at its last session, established post-routes leading to Oregon, and between different points within that territory, and authorized the establishment of post offices at "Astoria and such other places on the coasts of the Pacific, within the territory of the United States, as the public interests may require." Post offices have accordingly been established, deputy postmasters appointed, and provision made for the transportation of the mails.

The preservation of peace with the Indian tribes residing west of the Rocky mountains will render it proper that authority should be given by law for the appointment of an adequate number of Indian agents to reside among them.

I recommend that a surveyor-general's office be established in that territory, and that the public lands be surveyed and brought into market at an early period.

I recommend, also, that grants, upon liberal terms, of limited quantities of the public lands be made to all citizens of the United States who have emigrated, or may hereafter within a prescribed period emigrate, to Oregon, and settle upon them. These hardy and adventurous citizens, who have encountered the dangers and privations of a long and toilsome journey, and have at length found an abiding-place for themselves and their families upon the utmost verge of our western limits, should be secured in the homes which they have improved by their labor.

I refer you to the accompanying report of the Secretary of War for a detailed account of the operations of the various branches of the public service connected with the department under his charge. The duties devolving on this department have been unusually onerous and responsible during the past year, and have been discharged with ability and success.

Pacific relations continue to exist with the various Indian tribes, and most of them manifest a strong friendship for the United States. Some depredations were committed during the past year upon our trains transporting supplies for the army, on the road between the western border of Missouri and Santa Fé. These depredations, which are supposed to have been committed by bands from the region of New-Mexico, have been arrested by the presence of a military force, ordered out for that purpose. Some outrages have been perpetrated by a portion of the north-western bands upon the weaker and comparatively defenceless neighboring tribes.—Prompt measures were taken to prevent such occurrences in future.

Between one and two thousand Indians, belonging to several tribes, have been removed during the year from the east of the Mississippi to the country allotted to them west of that river, as their permanent home; and arrangements have been made for others to follow.

Since the treaty of 1846 with the Cherokees, the feuds among them appear to have subsided, and they have become more united and contented than they have been for many years past. The commissioners, appointed in pursuance of the act of June 27, 1846, to settle claims arising under the treaty of 1835–'36 with that tribe, have executed their duties; and after a patient investigation, and a full and fair examination of all the cases brought before them, closed their labor in the month of July last.

This is the fourth board of commissioners which has been organized under this treaty. Ample opportunity has been afforded to all those interested to bring forward their claims. No doubt is entertained that impartial justice has been done by the late board, and that all valid claims embraced by the treaty have been considered and allowed. This result, and the final settlement to be made with this tribe, under the treaty of 1846, which will be completed and laid before you during your session, will adjust all questions of controversy between them and the United States, and produce a state of relations with them simple, well-defined and satisfactory.

Under the discretionary authority conferred by the act of the third of March last, the annuities due to the various tribes have been paid during the present year to the heads of families instead of to their chiefs, or such persons as they might designate, as required by the laws previously existing. This mode of payment has given general satisfaction to the great body of the Indians.—Justice has been done to them, and they are grateful to the government for it. A few chiefs and interested persons may object to this mode of payment, but it is believed to be the only mode of preventing fraud and imposition from being practiced upon the great body of common Indians, constituting a majority of all the tribes.

It is gratifying to perceive that a number of the tribes have recently manifested an increased interest in the establishment of schools among them, and are making rapid advance in agriculture—some of them producing a sufficient quantity of food for their support, and in some cases a surplus to dispose of to their neighbours. The comforts by which those who have received even a very limited education, and have engaged in agriculture, are surrounded, tend gradually to draw off their less civilized brethren from the precarious means of subsistence by the chase, to habits of labor and civilization.

The accompanying Report of the Secretary of the Navy presents a satisfactory and gratifying account of the conditions and operations of the naval service during the past year. Our commerce has been pursued with increased activity, and with safety and success in every quarter of the globe, under the protection of our flag, which the navy has caused to be respected in the most distant seas.

In the Gulf of Mexico, and in the Pacific, the officers and men of our squadrons have displayed distinguished gallantry, and performed valuable services. In the early stages of the war with Mexico her ports on both coasts were blockaded, and more recently many of them have been captured and held by the navy. When acting in coöperation with the land forces, the naval officers and men have performed gallant and distinguished services on land as well as on water, and deserve the high commendation of the country.

While other maritime powers are adding to their navies large numbers of war steamers, it was a wise policy on our part to make similar additions to our navy. The four war steamers authorized by the act of the third of March, 1847, are in course of construction.

In addition to the four war steamers authorized by this act, the Secretary of the Navy has, in pursuance of its provisions, entered into contract for the construction of five steamers, to be employed in the transportation of the United States mail "from New-York to New-Orleans, touching at Charleston, Savannah and Havana, and from Havana to Chagres;" for three steamers to be employed in like manner from Panama to Oregon, "so as to connect with the mail from Havana to Chagres across the Isthmus;" and for five steamers to be employed in like manner from New-York to Liverpool.

These steamers will be the property of the contractors, but are to be built "under the superintendence and direction of a naval constructor in the employ of the Navy Department, and to be so constructed as to render them convertible at the least possible expense into war steamers of the first class."

A prescribed number of naval officers, as well as a post office agent, are to be on board of them; and authority is reserved to the Navy Department at all times to "exercise control over said steamships," and "to have the right" "to take them for the exclusive use and service of the United States," upon making proper compensation to contractors therefor." While steamships will be employed in transporting the mails of the United States coastwise, and to foreign countries upon an annual compensation to be paid to the owners, they will be always ready, upon an emergency requiring it, to be converted into war steamers: and the right reserved to take them for public use, will add greatly to the efficiency and strength of thisdescription of our naval force. To the steamers thus authorized, under contracts made by the Secretary of the Navy, should be added five other steamers authorized under contracts made in pursuance of law by the Postmaster General, making an addition, in the whole, of eighteen war steamers, subject to be taken for public use. As further contracts for the transportation of the mail to foreign countries may be authorized by Congress, this number may be enlarged indefinitely. The enlightened policy by which a rapid communication with the various distant parts of the globe is established, by means of American steam vessels, will secure and an ample reward in the increase of our commerce, and in making our country and its resources more favorably known abroad; but the national advantage is still greater, of having our naval officers made familiar with steam navigation, and of having the privilege of taking the ships already equipped for immediate service at a moment's notice; and will be cheaply purchased by the compensation to be paid for the transportation of the mail in them, over and above the postages received. A just national pride, no less than our commercial interests, would seem to favor the policy of augmenting the number of this description of vessels. They can be built in our country cheaper and in greater numbers than in any other in the world.

I refer you to the accompanying report of the Postmaster General for a detailed and satisfactory account of the condition and operation of that department during the past year. It is gratifying to find that, within a short a period after the reduction in the rates of postage, and notwithstanding the great increase of mail service, therevenue received for the year will be sufficient to defray all the expenses, and that no farther aid will be required from the treasury for that purpose.

The first of the American mail steamers authorized by the act of the 3d of March, 1845, was completed and entered upon the service on the 1st of June last, and is now on her third voyage to Bremen and other intermediate ports. The other steamships authorized under the provisions of that act are in course of construction, and will be put upon the line as soon as completed. Contracts have also been made for the transportation of the mail in a steamer from Charleston to Havana.

A reciprocal and satisfactory postal arrangement has been made by the Postmaster General with the authorities of Bremen and no difficulty, is apprehended in making similar arrangements with all other Powers with which we may have communications by mail steamers, except with Great Britain.

On the arrival of the first of the American steamers, bound to Bremen at Southampton, in the month of June last, the British post office directed the collection of discriminating postages on all letters and other mailable matter, which also took out to Great Britain, or which went into the British post office on their way to France and otherparts of Europe.

The effect of the order of the British post office is to subject all letters and other matter transported by American steamers to double postage, one postage having been previously paid on them to the United States, while letters transported in British steamers are subject to pay but a single postage. This measure was adopted with the avowed object of protecting the British line of mail steamers now running between Boston and Liverpool, and, if permitted to continue, must speedily put an end to the transportation of all letters and other matter by American steamers, and give to British steamers a monopoly of the business. A just and fair reciprocity is all that we desire, and on this we must insist.

By our laws, no such discrimination is made against British steamers bringing letters into our ports, but all letters arriving in the United States are subject to the same rate of postage, whether brought in British or American vessels. I refer you to the report of the Post master General for a full statement of the facts of the case, and to the steps taken by him to correct this inequality. He has exerted all the power conferred upon him by the existing laws.

The minister of the United States at London has brought thesubject to the attention of the British government, and is now engaged in negotiations for the purpose of adjusting reciprocal postal arrangements, which shall be equally just toboth countries. Should he fail in concluding such arrangements, and should Great Britain insist on enforcing the unequal and unjust measure she has adopted, it will become necessary to confer additional powers on the Postmaster General, in order to enable him to meet the emergency, and to put our own steamers on an equal footing with British steamers engaged in transporting the mail between the two countries; and I recommend that such powers be conferred.

In view of the existing state of our country, I trust it may not be inappropriate, in closing this communication, to call to mind the words of wisdom and admonition of the first and most illustrious of my predecessors, in his farewell address to his countrymen.

That greatest and best of men, who served his country so long, and loved it so much, foresaw, with "serious concern," the danger to our Union "of characterizing parties by geographical discriminations—*Northern* and *Southern*, *Atlantic* and *Western*—whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views," and warned his countrymen against it.

So deep and solemn was his conviction of the importance of the Union and of preserving harmony between its different parts, that he declared to his countrymen in that address, "it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national Union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual and immovable prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and to speak of it, as a palladium of your political safety, and discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts."

After the lapse of half a century, these admonitions of Washington fall upon us with all the force of truth. It is difficult to estimate the "immense value" of our glorious Union of confederated States, to which we are so much indebted for our growth in population and wealth, and for all that constitutes us a great and a happy nation. How unimportant are all our differences of opinion upon minor questions of public policy, compared with its preservation; and how scrupulously should we avoid all agitating topics which may tend to distract and divide us into contending parties, separated by geographical lines, whereby it may be weakened or endangered.

Invoking the blessing of the Almighty Ruler of the Universe upon your deliberations it will be my highest duty, no less than my sincere pleasure, to coöperate with you in all measures which may tend to promote the honor and enduring welfare of our common country. JAMES K. POLK.

WASHINGTON, December, 1847.

The North Star.

We have received the first number of Frederick Douglass's paper—the North Star. It is neatly printed with handsome type, on a sheet almost the size of this.—Its selections are judiciously made, and its editorial well written. Altogether, it does credit to the taste, the skill, and the ability of its proprietor and editor, and is all that its best friends could wish it to be. We cannot better give an idea of its contents, and the spirit with which its editor has commenced his new vocation, than by copying his introductory:

OUR PAPER AND ITS PROSPECTS.

We are now about to assume the management of the editorial department of a newspaper, devoted to the cause of Liberty, Humanity, and Progress. The position is one which, with the purest motives, we have long desired to occupy. It has long been our anxious wish to see, in this slaveholding, and slave-trading, and negro-hating land, a printing-press and paper, permanently established, under the complete control and direction of the immediate victims of Slavery and oppression.

Animated by this intense desire, we have pursued our object, till on the threshold of obtaining it. Our press and printing materials are bought, and paid for.—Our office is secured, and is well situated, in the centre of business, in this enterprising city. Our office agent an industrious and amiable young man, thoroughly devoted to the interests of humanity, has already entered upon his duties. Printers well recommended have offered their services, and are ready to work as soon as we are prepared for the regular publication of our paper. Kind friends are rallying round us, with words and deeds of encouragement. Subscribers are steadily, if not rapidly coming in, and some of the best minds in the country are generously offering to lend us the powerful aid of their pens. The sincere wish of our hearts, so long and so devoutly cherished, seems now upon the eve of complete realization.

It is scarcely necessary for us to say that our desire to occupy our present position at the head of an Anti-Slavery Journal, has resulted from no unworthy distrust or ungrateful want of appreciation of the zeal, integrity, or ability of the noble band of white labourers, in this department of our cause; but, from a sincere and settled conviction, that such a journal, if conducted with only moderate skill and ability, would do a most important and indispensable work, which it would be wholly impossible for our white friends to do for us.

It is neither a reflection on the fidelity, nor a disparagement of the ability of our friends and fellow labourers, to assert what "common sense affirms and only folly denies," that the man who has *suffered the wrong* is the man to *demand redress*,—that the man STRUCK is the man to CRY OUT—and that he who has *endured the cruel pangs of Slavery* is the man to *advocate Liberty*. It is evident we must be our own representatives and advocates, not exclusively, but peculiarly—not distinct from, but in connection with our white friends. In the grand struggle for liberty and equality now waging, it is meet, right and essential that there should arise in our ranks authors and editors, as well as orators, for it is in these capacities that the most permanent good can be rendered to our cause.

Hitherto the immediate victims of Slavery and prejudice, owing to various causes, have had little share in this department of effort; they have frequently undertaken, and almost as frequently failed. This latter fact has often been urged by our friends against our engaging in the present enterprize; but, so far from convincing us of the impolicy of our course, it serves to confirm us in the necessity, if not the wisdom of our undertaking. That others have failed, is a reason for OUR earnestly endeavouring to succeed. Our race must be vindicated from the embarrassing imputations resulting from former non-success. We believe that what *ought* to be done, *can* be done. We say this, in no self-confident or boastful spirit, but with a full sense of our weakness and unworthiness, relying upon the Most High for wisdom and strength to support us in our righteous undertaking. We are not wholly unaware of the duties, hardships and responsibilities of our position. We have easily imagined some, and friends have not hesitated to inform us of others. Many doubtless are yet to be revealed by that infallible teacher, experience. A view of them solemnize, but do not appal us. We have counted the cost. Our mind is made up, and we are resolved to go forward.

In aspiring to our present position, the aid of circumstances has been so strikingly apparent as almost to stamp our humble aspirations with the solemn sanctions of a Divine Providence. Nine years ago, as most of our readers are aware we were held as a slave, shrouded in the midnight ignorance of that infernal system—sunken in the depths of servility and degradation—registered with four-footed beasts and creeping things—regarded as property—compelled to toil without wages—with a heart swollen with bitter anguish—and a spirit crushed and broken. By a singular combinationof circumstances we finally succeeded in escaping from the grasp or the man who claimedus as his property, and succeded in safely reaching New Bedford, Mass. In this town we worked three years asa daily labourer on the wharves. Six years ago we became a Lecturern Slavery. Under the apprehension of being retaken into bondage, two years ago we embarked for England. During our stay in that country, kind friends, anxious for our safety, ransomed us from Slavery, by the payment of a large sum. The same friends, as unexpectedly as generous, placed in our hands the necessary means of purchasing a printing press and printing materials. Finding ourself now in a favourable position for aiming an important blow at Slavery and prejudice, we feel urged oni n our enterprise by a sense of duty to God and man, firmly believing that our effort will be crowned with entire success.

Communications.

Remarkable Confession.

In the course of the deliberations in the Anti-Slavery Convention in London, in 1843, a resolution was offered which called forth statements relative to the prejudice existing in different branches of the Christian Church in America, adverse to the recognition of coloured people as brethren in Christ Jesus. After several of my colleagues had addressed the Convention on the subject, I submitted a few remarks, in relation to the evidences of such a prejudice, still existing in the Society of Friends, in Philadelphia; that, notwithstanding this Society had been the first to move in the Anti-Slavery cause, and to abolish Slavery within its own limits, and had been an unwavering advocate of the right of the coloured people to enjoy freedom, it had so yielded to the prejudice of caste, that not one of the twenty thousand free coloured citizens of the city and county of Philadelphia was a member of that branch of the Church. I made this statement, not for the purpose of casting censure upon the Society of Friends, but as a demonstration of a sentiment long since established in my mind, *that it is impossible in the nature of things, that any great evil can exist and be sustained by the public sentiment of a nation, without diffusing a baneful demoralizing influence throughout the whole land.*

Isaac Collins, a highly respectable member of the Society of Friends, in Philadelphia, being a delegate in that Convention, contradicted this statement of mine, declaring in positive terms, "There are coloured members in the city of Philadelphia." This contradiction, amounting to a direct charge of falsehood, was a very sore trial to my feelings, and almost put an extinguisher upon my anticipated participation in the labours of that Convention; but blessed forever be the mighty power of truth, which has brought forth an acknowledgment in the following publication, made by Isaac Collins, in the Pennsylvania Inquirer; six copies of which he sent to me, with letters, stating that he was the author of the publication, though not signed with his name; and that he had sent a similar communication to Josiah Forster, in London, to be published in the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter.

In justice to Isaac Collins I must add, that I am satisfied, that from his observation of the negro seat in Friend's meetings, so well filled with diligent attenders, he had received the impression that they were members of the Society, so that he is not chargeable with intentional misstatement; at the same time it may be questionable, whether a person of his intelligence and standing, would have ventured to make a positive contradiction of a statement made by one of his colleagues, without a certain knowledge that the statement wis false, had it not been for the demoralizing power of Slavery upon all who live within its baneful influence.

In the following publication, however, he has evinced a spirit of candour and justice which does honour to his name, and for which he has the sincere thanks of his friend,

ARNOLD BUFFUM.

"For the Inquirer.

"In the published volume of the proceedings of the World's Anti-Slavery Convention, held in London, in the year 1843, it appears that in the course of some remarks, made by Arnold Buffum, the delegate from the Indiana State Anti-Slavery Society, he said 'that the coloured population of the city and county of Philadelphia, not one was a member of the religious Society of Friends.'—[See page 97.] On page 114, it appears that a 'delegate' denied this assertion, and said there were coloured members in the city of Philadelphia. In justice to Arnold Buffum, it is stated, that upon a recent investigation, throughout the meetings, of this city, though it was ascertained that many years ago there were coloured persons members of the Society of Friends, and more recently, several, who from their plain dress and address, and regular attendance at meetings, were generally supposed to be members; yet such, on inqry, was found not to be the case, and therefore, the assetion of Arnold Buffum was correct, and of course the denial of it by a delegate was incorrect.

"A MEMBER OF SAID CONVENTION.

"Philadelphia, 9mo. 18, 1847."

Selections.

Mr. Polk's Pretexts for his War again Utterly Demolished!

From the National Intelligencer, Dec. 11.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

Several days have now elapsed since our readers in this city, and generally elsewhere, were put in possession of the Annual Message of the President of the United States to both Houses of Congress. Until to-day we have purposely forborne from comment upon it, from an unaffected desire not to interfere with their free digestion ofits contents. That opportunity having been fairy afforded, we now proceed to state with plainness, but we hope without offence to any well-disposed reader, our views upon its leading topics: and first, because it is first in the Message, and uppermost in every man's mind, upon so much of the document as relates to

The War with Mexico.

When, on the 13th day of May of last year, the passage of the Act of Congress recognizing the existence of War with Mexico was announced to the readers of the *National Intelligencer*, it was accompanied by the expression of a belief that by the largest portion of its readers the information would be received with alarm—alarm justly excited by the wilfulness and recklessness with which the Nation had been plunged into a foreign war, which, as the People were in no particular prepared for, they were in no way forewarned of. For ourselves, we were not taken wholly by suprise by the news. In the statesmanship of the executive, whatever confidence we were disposed to place had been shaken by the almost daily demonstrations by its official organ during the first year of its existence. We had noticed its successive developments, gradually disclosing a settled purpose to make war upon Mexico, in the event of not succeeding in intimidating her into a prompt submisson to the demands which the President intended o make upon her. That organ (the Government paper) was hardly a week old before its readers were transported, in imagination, to the "Halls of Montezuma," which were to be occupied by the United States as the crowning act of "a second conquest of Mexico." The tocsin being sounded, volunteers were to flock from the West to the scene of action, and to carry everything before them. The Government paper taught us, also, *how* the war was to be brought on by which this conquest was to be effected. It foresaw, by many months, the march of our army from Corpus Christi (where, as every one knows, Mexico never intended to disturb it) to the Rio Grande; foresaw that the Mexicans might cross the Rio Grande, and that, if they did, "blood would be shed," and "war must ensue." When, therefore, the prediction was realized—when the catastrophe arrived, however it shocked, it can scarcely be said to have *surprised* us. Of the facility and precipitancy with which the purposes of the Executive came to be sanctioned by the Legislative authority, we cannot say the same. We were both surprised and alarmed to find how easily, on the impulse of the moment, blindfold and gagged, Congress could be driven to lend its countenance to those purposes. Blindfold and gagged, we repeat. Nor is the expression too strong; for, *before* the news of the dangerous position of our Army was communicated by the Executive to Congress, Committees of both Houses had been got together, (on the Sabbath,) and measures prepared in concert with the Executive, which, the next day, on receiving the President's Message of form, without waiting to have the papers accompanying it read over, for the information of Members, were forced through the House of Representatives. Nor, even to a body excited as the House was by the stirring news from the Rio Grande, did the ruling party in the House venture to propose the false and obnoxious Preamble of the Bill until after all deliberation and debate had been precluded on a question as momentous certainly as every came before Congress. Had there been nothing else alarming in this Declaration of War with Mexico, the despotism thus exercised over the minority of the Representative body, repeated on the following day in the Senatorial body, (therefore exempt from such sharp practice,) was of itself sufficient to appal the hearts of those accustomed, as we have been, to regard the rights of minorities as not has sacred than those of majorities, and, among them, the right of proposing amendments to or remonstrating against any proposition coming before them. The minority in each House was thus subjected by a most arbitrary and malignant exercise of party power, without being allowed a moment for deliberation, to the alternative of voting for a bill with a preamble, the falsehood of which they saw and detested, or of refusing to vote for enactments (supplies of men and money) to which, all lavish as they were, there would, perhaps, but for the Preamble, not have been a dissentient voice.

Whatever alarm we and our readers felt at this beginning, has certainly been fully justified by the progress of events. Even that precipitation in the action of Congress—that preamble, affirming two distinct falsehoods—that tyranny by which a vote was exacted from the two Houses, have been continually appealed to by the Executive organs as evidence of the unanimity of the national will in approbation of the war. In the Message before us, that appeal is repeated, accompanied with a statement, in terms, that the declaration that "the War exists by the act of Mexico" was passed "with great unanimity" in Congress; though it must be known to the Executive that but a small majority in either House of Congress approved that declaration, many members declaring their repugnance to it, some their utter abhorrence of it. Votes taken in both Houses of Congress at the second session of the same Congress plainly established this fact, had there been any reason to doubt it. The popular elections which have intervened certainly leave no excuse for a doubt upon any man's mind that a majority of the People of the United States are *against* this war, and its authors.

Instead of relinquishing, in deference to the popular will, thus clearly expressed, any part of his original scheme of conquering and annexing a considerable portion of the territory of Mexico, the President comes to Congress and demands its concurrence in a plan for colonizing and annexing almost one half of Mexico, with a recommendation to continue the war until he, the conquerer, *conquers* all the residue of that unhappy Republic, in the event of her not willingly severing from her body her most valuable provinces. Instead of advising a Power which this Government might have at any day on terms of honor, he informs Congress, in a sanguinary strain, and almost in the dialect of the shambles, that he is persuaded "that the best means of *vindicating the national honor* and interest, and of bringing the war to an *honorable* close, will be to prosecute it *with increased energy and power* IN THE VITAL PARTS *of the enemy's country*!" He knows that he and his war stand condemned by his own countrymen. He cannot, if he would, mistake the sentiment of the People; and yet he craves more conquest, more butchery: he demands a deeper penetration into the vitals of our adversary, and yet farther waste of the blood and treasure of his own country.

Before he can captive our senses by the seductive incitements, in which his Message abounds, to a yet wider course of rash ambition and suicidal aggrandizement, let us stop for a moment to consider upon what grounds he places and justifies the career of cruelty and conquest in which he has already embarked our country. We are glad that the President has, in his Message, prefaced his recommendations as to the future with a summary statement of the causes of complaint heretofore alleged by him as being of color dans to go to war, together with his understanding of how the war began. A single paragraph includes the whole story; and, as we propose to examine it with some particularity, we here republish it:

"It is sufficient on the present occasion to say, that the wanton violation of the rights of person and property of our citizens committed by Mexico, her repeated acts of bad faith through a long series of years, and her disregard of solemn treaties stipulating for indemnity to our injured citizens, not only constituted ample cause of war on our part, but were of such an aggravated character as would have justified us before the whole world in resorting to this extreme remedy. With an anxious desire to avoid a rupture between the two countries, we forbore for years to assert our claims by force, and continued to seek redress for the wrongs we had suffered by amicable negotiation, in the hope that Mexico might yield to pacific counsels and the demands of justice. In this hope we were disappointed. Our minister of peace sent to Mexico was insultingly rejected. The Mexican Government refused even to hear the terms of adjustment which he was authorized to propose; and finally, under wholly unjustifiable pretexts, involved the two countries in war, by invading the territory of the State of TEXAS, striking the first blow, and shedding the blood of our citizens on our own soil."

In undertaking *again* to review these averments by the Executive, now that they are again offered in his justification, and in support of that war *ad internecionem* against Mexico which he recommends to Congress, we are well aware that no force can be added to the reasoning, nor any strength to the conclusions of that admirable tract from the pen of the venerable, patriotic, and learned ALBERT GALLATIN, in relation to the Mexican War, which, when lately had the satisfaction of spreading before our readers. To his authority upon any question of public law or national obligation, we, at least, who have known him from the days of his great public services in the Public Councils, first as a leader of the Republican party in Congress, next as a Member of the Cabinet of President JEFFERSON during all of his Administration, and of that of Mr. MADISON until he was called to represent his country abroad as the associate of ADAMS, CLAY and BAYARD in the great Negotiation which ended in the Peace of Ghent—we, whose first essays in our present vocation may be said to have been guided by his hand and by that of his ever-honored friend and official superior Mr. MADISON—are bound by every sentiment of respect and gratitude to pay a deference so profound, that it would be with the greatest distrust of our own judgment we should entertain any opinion on a public question materially different from his. Happy and proud are we to find, that, on the subject of the causes and character of this war, his views are in full accord with those which we have found it our duty from time to time to present to our readers. Most fortunate for our country do we consider it, that he has been willing and able to come forward in the present emergency, to instruct and counsel his fellow-citizens. However earnestly and honestly the Press may have done its duty; however ably and fearlessly distinguished Statesmen of the present day may have exposed and denounced the new career upon which our country has entered as the sole disturber of the peace of the world; however bright and high the statesmanship which the great Patriot of the West has so recently brought to bear upon this great question, the Address of Mr. GALLATIN has shown it was yet possible for a wise and able man to add to the force of even our own convictions, however decided on the subject. Most fortunate, we repeat, do we consider this opportune contribution to the common stock of knowledge of one standing in the foremost rank of intellectual greatness, and yet apart from the passions of the day and above them; one who, after a most distinguished career of public service, left popularity and reputation unexhausted, and quitted high trusts while they yet courted his acceptance: one of the foremost men, in a word, of that illustrious era of our statesmanship which has now hardly a survivor; one therefore, almost in the last extremity of age, and yet so fortunate as to have preserved, equally undimmed, its abilities and its honors. To the authority of such a name as that of ALBERT GALLATIN, his recent Address adds a strength of reasoning which nothing in the present day can meet, and that luminous command of all the great principles of Public and of National Law, in which he had scarcely an equal in his own time, and has now no superior. The trusted coadjutor—and it may even, in Finance and in Diplomacy, be said to have been—the instructor of JEFFERSON, of MADISON, and of MONROE, we have here, as of one rising from the dead, a voice, passionless as it is wise and powerful, in judgment of an antique and genuine sage of Republicanism—yea, of Democracy—upon the entire question of this Presidential War.

Armed and fortified with such a document, it is with unwonted confidence that we proceed once more to expose those hollow pretences and insincere professions of the authors and apologists for the War with Mexico, which have been controverted heretofore with no other apparent effect than to induce a more perfunctious repetition of them.

Referring to his last annual communication to Congress for particulars of his bill of arraignment, the President again recites alleged wrongs by Mexico, through a long series of years, &c. as being such as not only to constitute ample cause of war, but as would have justified the United States before the whole world in resorting to this extreme remedy. This every one, at all acquainted with history, knows to be gross exaggeration. The long existence of claims for wrongs now alleged to have been so enormous is of itself proof of the fact that they were not at any time deemed by Congress to constitute a sufficient cause of war. Most of them had been actually made the subject of amicable negotiation between the two countries, which was in the course of faithful execution by Mexico when the hostile demonstrations of our Administration suspended the payment of stipulated indemnities. As to what remained of unadjusted claims, there was nothing, until the occurrence of this war, to prevent their peaceable and even satisfactory adjustment. As to the refusal by Mexico to receive our Minister being, as the President intimates, a sufficient cause of war, it is well known to the world, to the President that the army was ordered to march to the Rio Grande (where, according to the programme of the government paper, *the war was to begin*) two months before our Minister was finally refused to be received by the Government of Mexico.

But let it be admitted, for the sake of argument, and for that sake only, that, according to the customs and laws of nations in less civilized, less moral, and less enlightened ages than the present, we really had cause of war with Mexico, so far as war between two Christian Nations is ever just or necessary: yet, war with Mexico, distracted, weakened, and impoverished as she had long been and then was with intestine factions and divisions, was neither necessary, magnanimous, nor honorable on our part. Such a war, even for just objects, being unnecessary—the only inevitable effect indeed upon the claims for which it would be waged being to fasten them upon our own Treasury instead of the Mexican—could never be redeemed to the glory of the country, and much less compensate for the rivers of blood and heaps of treasure which have been already wasted in this war.

But, to pass all this by, whether the existing war be just or unjust, necessary or unnecessary, is not the question now at issue between the President and the People. Was this War the act of the Sovereign People of the United States, declared in their name, in the only manner known or acknowledged by the Constitution—by the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress assembled, gradually disclosing a settled purpose to make war upon Mexico, in the event of not succeeding in intimidating her into a prompt submisson to the demands which the President intended o make upon her. That organ (the Government paper) was hardly a week old before its readers were transported, in imagination, to the "Halls of Montezuma," which were to be occupied by the United States as the crowning act of "a second conquest of Mexico." The tocsin being sounded, volunteers were to flock from the West to the scene of action, and to carry everything before them. The Government paper taught us, also, *how* the war was to be brought on by which this conquest was to be effected. It foresaw, by many months, the march of our army from Corpus Christi (where, as every one knows, Mexico never intended to disturb it) to the Rio Grande; foresaw that the Mexicans might cross the Rio Grande, and that, if they did, "blood would be shed," and "war must ensue." When, therefore, the prediction was realized—when the catastrophe arrived, however it shocked, it can scarcely be said to have *surprised* us. Of the facility and precipitancy with which the purposes of the Executive came to be sanctioned by the Legislative authority, we cannot say the same. We were both surprised and alarmed to find how easily, on the impulse of the moment, blindfold and gagged, Congress could be driven to lend its countenance to those purposes. Blindfold and gagged, we repeat. Nor is the expression too strong; for, *before* the news of the dangerous position of our Army was communicated by the Executive to Congress, Committees of both Houses had been got together, (on the Sabbath,) and measures prepared in concert with the Executive, which, the next day, on receiving the President's Message of form, without waiting to have the papers accompanying it read over, for the information of Members, were forced through the House of Representatives. Nor, even to a body excited as the House was by the stirring news from the Rio Grande, did the ruling party in the House venture to propose the false and obnoxious Preamble of the Bill until after all deliberation and debate had been precluded on a question as momentous certainly as every came before Congress. Had there been nothing else alarming in this Declaration of War with Mexico, the despotism thus exercised over the minority of the Representative body, repeated on the following day in the Senatorial body, (therefore exempt from such sharp practice,) was of itself sufficient to appal the hearts of those accustomed, as we have been, to regard the rights of minorities as not has sacred than those of majorities, and, among them, the right of proposing amendments to or remonstrating against any proposition coming before them. The minority in each House was thus subjected by a most arbitrary and malignant exercise of party power, without being allowed a moment for deliberation, to the alternative of voting for a bill with a preamble, the falsehood of which they saw and detested, or of refusing to vote for enactments (supplies of men and money) to which, all lavish as they were, there would, perhaps, but for the Preamble, not have been a dissentient voice.

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The Fairs.

The Philadelphia Fair commenced, we presume, last evening, according to the announcement, in the Assembly Buildings, at the corner of Chestnut and Tenth Streets. It will continue through to-day, to-morrow, and next day. To-morrow and the day after—Friday and Saturday—in another room, a meeting of the Eastern Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society will be held, at which all the home-material for speech-making will be put in requisition, and Wm. H. Channing, of Boston, will, we have no doubt, charm the Quakers, as they have not often been charmed before. We can tell another of our good friends Eastward, whom the Pennsylvania Abolitionists have long wished to see among them, that there will be no room left for him in the hearts of Chester and Bucks counties—to say nothing of the streets of Philadelphia, from 1 to 100—if he neglects, much longer, to show himself among the good people of that country.

On Friday and Saturday of this week, also, Central New-York holds her Fair at Rochester. This is not on so large a scale,—does not last so long,—has fewer to buy, and less to sell, than the Bazaars further East; nevertheless, those who have worked for it, and those who work in it,—those who sell, and those who buy, are not a whit the less interested than their coadjutors in Boston and Philadelphia. Nor is the Rochester Fair of less consequence than these, because it is smaller. Fewer hands do lesser work; but the few hands in this State, ply as nimbly, and do as much, according to their gift, as the many elsewhere. We are not sure that the people in and about Rochester, do not have to work the harder for their result, than they do at either of the other Fairs. At any rate, this we do know—that they work hard enough to deserve most cheering success, and that every Abolitionist in that region of country, of which Rochester is the centre, should remember the Rochester Fair, either as a place to visit, or a place to send to, both for buying and selling. We know that all they do have is of the best, and much of it can be found nowhere else but at an Anti-Slavery Fair. The Boston people—not the Abolitionists—know this fact as regards Anti-Slavery Fairs, and go to the Bazaar to get their Christmas and New-Year's presents. The people in and about Rochester, will learn some day the value of their Fair, also.

On Monday, after the Fair is over, a better plan, we think, than theirs of Philadelphia, the Annual Meeting of the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society is held at Rochester. Douglass, Remond, Stebbins, and probably May, are to be present, and a meeting, with such speakers, needs only a notice to attract an audience.

Of the Boston Fair, which commences next week, we dare say nothing. The picture of Faneuil Hall, in the Liberator, at the head of a column, or two of advertisements, and the column or two in our own paper, is an effectual damper upon any small attempt we might otherwise be disposed to make, to tell anybody that there is such a thing as the Boston Bazaar. Everybody knows it, and if they have read the advertisements, or will read that which we look for for next week's paper, knows, or will know, far more than we would undertake to tell them in anything less than three columns. Indeed, when we think of it, we would not undertake to tell anything about it at all. Nobody can do that as it is done by the accomplished head of its Board of Managers, and there is nothing more to be said, when she has finished. We have in our younger days, gone through more than one Boston Bazaar, and we never fully realize the perils and the toils, the responsibilities and the conflicts of those weeks, except when the yearly advertisement of all things in the earth, and on it, and a great many that were never before heard of either in it, over it, or under it, appears before us. Then we remember that all those things actually are gathered together there from the four quarters of the Globe, into Faneuil Hall, and a place is to be prepared for them, and they must be packed and unpacked, priced and exhibited, taken care of, and sold, and a business done on that invested capital, and done in a manner too, which would make the character, and the fortune of more than one of the young women who do it, were the scene of action, Milk street, or State street, and were it a life-business instead of a Fair-business.

Our first wish for our friends in Rochester and Philadelphia is, that they may make twice as much as they ever did before; and our second is, that they may find some one who will, in future, write advertisements for their Fairs, and we will ensure them double receipts for next year, let them have what they may for this. Our Boston friends will also accept our good wishes—may their receipts be $10,000 this year, and their Advertisements never a line shorter.

Since the above was in type, the following advertisement has been received:

THE FOURTEENTH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR,
FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON,

Will open on Tuesday, December 21st, at ten o'clock, A. M. The exhibition will be more varied and beautiful than on any former occasion, comprising every kind of Berlin-worsted silk, cotton, beaded, braided, knitted, netted tapestry and embroidered work. Drawings in every style of the highest excellence, particularly in water-colours, and the new style called carseotype. One of Ullswater, the gift of Miss Pease, and another of Mont Blanc, by Edward Noel, given by Lady Byron, with the beautiful ones of Miss Carpenter, and Mr. Fripp, a distinguished English artist, are best worthy of attention.—There are also many fine engravings. The Book Table will be furnished with Delarne's letter, and note paper, plain and with initials with corresponding envelopes. Bronzes of Menes workmanship,—head of Napoleon, Goëthe, and Scheller, hand of Voltaire, beautifully modelled birds and animals, by the same artist. Splendid editions of French, classic, and modern authors, illustrated with one hundred engravings each. Childrens' French books. Gell's Pompei, beautiful and rare. Becherelle's *Dictionaire Universelle*; a scarce and costly article.

Swe's Mathelde.
Oeuvres de Massillon.
Legendes de Rubezahl.
Parisà Table.
Oeuvres Complètes de P. S. de Beranger.
Livres des Jeunes Filles.
Traité Pratique d'auscultation.
Derniers Jours de Pompei.
Le Monde tel quil sera.
Nouveau Formulaire des Hopitaux.
Entretiens de Village.
Paul et Virginie.
Les Nains celebres.
Mes prisons Silvio Pellico.
Dictionaire National et Universelle.
A splendid edition—now out of print.
Fenélon, illlustrated.
Isabella d'Angouleme.
Manor L'Escant.
Bretager.
Zoologie.
Sedillot Medecine Operatoire,
Beines de France.

Splendid and valuable articles of *Papier Maché*, of the latest fashion. Lyon's woven silk pictures—accurate copies of Raphael and Guido. Every variety and size of cushion for the toilette, sofa, carriage, foot, elbow, book, and fauteuel. A very choice selection of Edinburgh clan, tartan, and other shawls. Babies hoods, hats, bonnets, boots, gaiters, aprons, bibs, richly braided cloaks and shawls, frocks, flannels, and shoes. Ladies aprons, cloaks, cuffs, bags, purses, hoods, collars, necktie, spencers, polkas, cephahues. Books, cases, and cards of pressed flowers, plants and grasses. Botanical series of British Algae, mosses and lichen in books and mahogany cases, from Elizabeth Pease. Emery acorns, baby's own books, knitted quilts, sofa nets, and window curtains, silk patchwork, table, frame and sofa coverings.—Lamp-Shades, port-bouquets, and sévres-doyleys of perforated tissue never before imported, port-chapeau *en lele dosserf*, an article of use and ornament for a hall of entrance. Statuettes, ink-stands, ring-stands, of French orcelain, Urn-stands, lamp-mats. Dolls in hundreds, of every size, price, material, and costume. French toys—the *Basse cour*, being an unexampled display of Parisian miniature poultry, as natural as if alive. The Hingham table will be supplied with a display of wooden ware of the best and newest kinds. The Lynn table with shoes, and varieties of beautiful workmanship. There will be table of knitted woollens, of useful cotton clothing from Worcester, Massachusetts. A refreshment table—an Ohio cheese, oil paintings, carrier pigeons, gilded and illuminated door handles and plates for boudoirs and drawing-rooms. Impalpable gloves and other works of the destitute Irish peasantry, purchased for their relief and sent to the Bazaar in acknowledgment of American Benevolence. A fresh supply of rare autographs, very valuable old books. New music, beautiful screens, Fayal Baskets. Ladies travelling bags, gentlemen's card-cases. A choice selection of Canton goods, confections, night-caps. A beautiful French dressing-gown. Cottage orneé from the West. Oil painting—residence of O'Connel. Etched doyles—subjects, the homes of the poets.

THE LIBERTY BELL containing articles from distinguished Southerners Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Harriet Martineau, Mrs. Follen, Mr. Douglass, the Count Holinski, Mr. Garrison, Mr. Quincy, Mr. Jones, Mr. Pillsbury, Mr. and Mrs. Lowell, and other distinguished persons, will be published at the Book table on the 21st. Every evening after the 21st and 22d and 23d will be occupied by persons of distinguished eloquence in the advocacy of the cause.

M. W. CHAPMAN,
E. L. FOLLEN,
MARY MAY,
ELIZA MERRIAM,
CAROLINE WESTON,
For the Committee.

☞ *The Refreshment table!* ☜

Supplies for this important department *are most earnestly requested* of all friends of the cause, particularly Sugar, cream, and eggs, which may be sent to W. W. Marjoram, 13 Marshall street, Boston, who kindly volunteers to make them into ice creams without charge.

The President's Message.

We have occupied a large portion of this number of our paper with the message, as, we know, that many of our subscribers who will be desirous of reading the Government History of the War will not see it except in our columns. We give in another column an answer to it from the National Intelligencer, that the bane and the antidote may go together. We crowd out much valuable matter to make room for it. Notwithstanding its length, this article should be read and pondered upon, and laid away for future reference, as evidence that cannot be gainsaid of the infamous character of this Mexican War. One thing only is wanting to its completeness; and that we could hardly expect to find in the National Intelligencer, and no reader of an Anti-Slavery paper will fail to remember it—we mean the fact, incontestable, and acknowledged, that the object of the conquest of Mexico is the propagation of Slavery. The message, and the comments of the Intelligencer, together make a history of the existing state of things in this country, which should quicken our zeal for the abolition of Slavery, or its alternative—a Northern Republic.

Late from Liberia.

By a late arrival we have received a file of the Liberia Herald. This interesting bantling of the Peculiar Institution has completed her arrangements to become an independent Republic. The Constitution, and Declaration of Independence are published at length in the Herald.

The colony seems to be afflicted with its uniform complaint,—a want of something to eat. A good meal of victuals, it would seem, would be the greatest blessing that could, at any time, be given to a citizen of Liberia. We presume the Herald must have a new editor about once in six months, for it is impossible that any one man could live in the starving condition in which the writer in the Herald invariably appears to be. It is the same story always, but doubtless from fresh victims. The present editor not only mourns over the absolute destitution of all food, except native grains, but declares that so far as he is concerned it makes little difference, as he could not purchase more than a day's supply were there ever so much. Poor editor! The post is not a desirable one anywhere, and least of all so in your Republic.

We do not observe that any pos-tmen have been eaten since the last advices, or that any of Sister Wilkins's school has taken to the bush.

We find the following interesting items in relation to the Slave-Trade:

Reciprocation.—It is rumoured that the Brazilian Consul at Sierra Leone, who was also dubbed Judge in the Court of Mixed Commission, for the adjudication of vessels engaged in the slave-trade, has lately taken leave for his country. He had purchased the John Seys; and while going out of the Capes of Sierra Leone, he was met by his own brig going in with a modest cargo of *five hundred slaves*. She was captured by one of H. B. M. cruizers. His worship being anxious to reach home did not return to assist his brother Judges in the *adjudication*.

How he did it.—The Brig Bridgton, Captain James A. Gilmer, of Philadelphia, landed a cargo of merchandise at New Cess. Subsequently she came up here on her way to the United States, *via* the Brazils. She came here to take in *ballast*, and the Captain being ill, was brought on shore. She remained here some two or three weeks, when she sailed for New Cess, took in about five hundred slaves, and left the coast. While this vessel lay in our waters, she was boarded by the United States Brig Dolphin, and everything appeared so fair as to remove all suspicion from the mind of Captain Pope.

Ran ashore and landed the slaves.—A few days ago a Brig succeeded in taking off about five hundred slaves from the Gallenas. The human cargo was hardly stored when H. B. M. Sloop Favourite espied her and gave chase. The Brig acting upon the poetic maxim: "'Tis distance lends enchantment to the view," crowded sail, and it is said was fairly distancing the Favourite, when another of Her Majesty's vessels, the Mariner, hove in sight. The two locked her in the land. The Captain determined not to be taken, ran the Brig ashore a little above the Gallenas. The slaves left but only to be recaptured and sold again.

Slavers captured!—By the arrival of the schooner "Lousia," from Sierra Leone, we are informed that within a period of three months, Her Majesty's cruisers have captured and sent into that port for adjudication some nineteen slave vessels,—some of them with living cargo on board. All of them were condemned, and would be put up.

Coloured Friends.—We call the attention of our readers, and particularly Friends, to the letter of Arnold Buffum in another column. It is certainly a very remarkable fact, that in the city of Philadelphia, there is not a single Friend. There can, of course, be but one reason for it, and that is, simply that the coloured people do not find the Quakers, as a class, any more friendly than other sects. There is little left of genuine Quakerism in this country, except what virtue there may be in broad-brimmed hats, and straight coats, and none are so apt to find this out as the poor and despised. There is we understand, even a "nigger pew" in Cherry street meeting.

We hope the "British Friend" and the "London Friend" will copy this letter of Mr. Buffum's.

Notes on New Books.

Goldsmith's Poems. Illustrated by the Etching Club. Edited by Bolton Corney. New York: Harper & Brothers: 1847.

Thompson's Seasons. Illustrated by the Etching Club. Edited by Bolton Corney. New York: Harper & Brothers: 1847.

If this be a matter of fact age, as some people are in the habit of calling it, notwithstanding the palpable stupidity with which the people swallow all sorts of falsehood, it cannot be denied, that poetry was never before so honoured by external shows, as by this generation.—The amount of wealth squandered annually in illustrating the writings of recognized poets is enormous. Sumptuous editions of our native poets are issued, as they say of getting up other public shows, "without regard to expense," and all the devices of the binder, the engraver, the paper maker, and the gilder, have been resorted to to enhance the mere cost of poetry, which seems to be valued rather for the gilding and pictures which accompany it, than for the great truths which it embodies. We have recently seen a superb edition of Longfellow's poems, issued in Philadelphia, with all his Anti-Slavery poems left out; and this is, no doubt, a fair indication of the popular taste which calls for these sumptuous books of poetry. If there were any real love for poetry in the hearts of the people who purchase these costly gewgaws, all the gilding and soft pictures which are added as embellishments to things which cannot be embellished, would but create a feeling of disgust, rather than excite their cupidity to purchase with the hope of receiving the full value of their money. For our own part, we look upon these illustrated poets with dismay, as we do upon churches illustrated with painted windows. The great truths which once consecrated the lay of the poet, and made the voice of the preacher attractive, have lost their power, or rather, the people have lost their veneration for them, and now they must be enticed to church by painted windows, and induced to purchase poetry by illuminated pages and gilded covers. Perhaps it is because the great truths which were once heard from the pulpit, and read in the verses of the poet, are no longer found there, that makes it necessary to resort to gewgaws and claptraps, to gain the attention of the people. To emasculate a poet as the publishers of Longfellow did, by leaving out his noblest compositions, and supplying their place with gilding and engravings, does not give a very favourable aspect to the prospects of the age, if such acts are to be taken as indicative of the popular taste. The two volumes of illustrated poetry which have been issued by the Harpers are entirely free from the objections which lie against the great majority of illustrated books. The poetry itself has not been emasculated by any omissions, and the designs which are woven in with the letter press are conceived in a spirit which accords well with the feeling that it breathes. The illustrations to Thompson and Goldsmith by the Etching Club were not made to order, but were the spontaneous fancies of a club of artists who selected their poetry and made these illustrations as a pure labour of love. The books are neatly printed, and the original designs have been faithfully copied by the American engraver. Thompson's seasons has seventy-seven designs by the following artists. John Bell, sculptor, Cope, Creswick, Horsley, Knight, Redgrave, Stone, Storehouse, Taylor, Townsend, and Webster. Among the great number of illustrated volumes published at this season as gift-books, we have seen none that surpass these volumes in beauty. The same publishers are about to issue similar editions of Milton, Gray, and other classic English poets.—B.

To Correspondents.

Z. B. of S. will find the acknowledgment in the paper of Nov. 11th.

T. C.'s remittance was acknowledged in the paper of September 2d.

L. H. His letter is received, and the remittance made as requested.

J. C. R. His paper is regularly mailed, and if he does not receive it, the fault is in the post office.

E. D. H. Did he receive a letter from us at Richland?

W. P. Lond. ed. of W. '37 dicit *ten*.

Married,

In Springfield, Mass. on the 1st instant, Hon. James H. Johnson, M. C. of Bath, N. H. to Miss Sophia O. Edwards, of S.

Died,

On Sunday evening, James Kent, late Chancellor of this State, in the 85th year of his age.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

For Standard,—from December 7th, to 14th, 1847.

437	Addison Fuller, West Sumner, Me	$1	00
441	M. M. Davis, Bemas Heights, N Y	1	00
443	Eld. E. Tuttle, Clinton, N Y	1	00
443	Henry Bellinger, Sallsbury, N Y	1	00
443	E. A. Kimph, Little Falls, N Y	1	00
388	J. R. Barcroft, Cadiz, Ohio		25
419	Jarvis Johnson, New York,	1	00
425	John M. Degroy "	1	00
443	George Spalding, Borodino, N Y	1	00
416	Isaac Gibbs, Rochester, N Y	1	00
426	John Berryhill, Harrisburgh, Pa.	1	00
390	Joseph Hunt, Abington, Mass		30
419	A. L. Jewell, Waltham, Mass	1	00
	Scout & Slater, Venice, Pa	1	00
434	Joseph Congdon, New Bedford, Mass	2	00
434	T. D. Elliott, "	2	00
		16	55
	Total,	$16	55

FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer.

☞ Notice.—By the post-office law now in force, publishers of newspapers are permitted to send, in their papers to subscribers, bills *unreceipted;* but a *receipted* bill subjects the receiver to letter postage. Our subscribers, therefore, will find a bill, unreceipted of course, in their papers at the expiration of the time to which they have paid. The amount received for subscription is acknowledged above, and the *whole number* of the paper to which each subscriber has paid precedes his name.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

Foreign.

FIFTEEN DAYS LATER FROM EUROPE.

The Britannia arrived at Boston on the 8th instant, from Liverpool, whence she sailed on the 19th ultimo. From a dispatch to the Tribune we take the following account of the Liverpool market for Flour and Grain on the 19th:

Liverpool, November 19—12 M.

Best Western Canal Flour 29s to 30s per barrel. Richmond and Alexandria 28s to 28s 6d. Philadelphia and Baltimore 28s to 28s 6d. New Orleans and Ohio 26s to 27. United States and Canadian, sour, 21s to 23s.

Indian Corn per quarter 33s to 39s; Indian Meal per barrel 25s 6d to 16s 6d. Wheat, United States and Canadian white and mixed, per 70 lbs. 7s 6d to 9s; red, 6s to 8s. Oats, per 45 lbs. 2s 6d to 3s.—Barley, per 60 lbs. 3s to 4s. Rye, per 480 lbs. 3s to 4s. Peas, per 504 lbs. 30s to 40s.

Although this market has shown no positive tendency to advance since our last advices, it has been characterized by sustained firmness and increasing demand. Indian Corn particularly has been extraordinary active, and is steady at present quotations, while the best white is retailing at 40s. Indian Meal for Irish supply is also very brisk.

The pressure in the mercantile world is giving way. The Bank of England still demands the high rate of 8 per cent. discount, while its branches generally refuse to advance under 9 per cent.; but many of the private establishments of the country have discounted bills—of course of indisputably good reputation—at 7, and even 6 1-2 per cent.

A long list of failures is reported, but fewer than by last advices. The European Times says:

From the 6th to the 17th ultimo, inclusive, there have been gazetted in England, one hundred and sixteen bankrupts, and sixty-two insolvents, and in Scotland thirty bankrupts.

The noble packet-ship, Stephen Whitney, was lost on her passage to Liverpool, on the 10th November. A more awful shipwreck, perhaps, has never been heard of. In less than ten minutes from the time she struck, she had gone to pieces, and eighteen only of her crew and passengers out of one hundred and ten, were alive.

The following is a list of the officers and crew that perished:

—Charles W. Tipham, Master, Irishman; Robert Gill, second mate, Englishman; Thomas Bill, Geo. Raymond, and William Browe, New Haven; Chas. Browne, James Crawford, and Robert Hope, New-York; Wm. Wrigg, Bath, United States; Cleary, Baltimore; Wm. Hicks, Massachusetts; Benjamin Evans, also a native of America; John Williams, Caernarvon, Wales; Andrew Deall, Denmark, and Rose McCamack, and Eliza Miller, stewardesses.—All the first and second cabin passengers perished, comprising Dr. Groyney, Cork; Mr. Roberts, Mr. Fordyce, Scotland; Mr. Robinson, Liverpool; Mr. McCagne, Ohio; Mrs. Thorn, Petersburgh; James McSlackey, Mary Connor, Isabella Quinn, David McGratten, Martha Dunsliffe, and others. The eighteen who were saved, are Thomas Allen, first mate; James B. Mackay, second mate; Joseph Miller, steward; Wm. Johnson; (boy,) John Hathwoy, David Fergeson, Wm. Smith, Henry Hume, Daniel Graeves, Thomas Jackson, and Joseph or Jas. Saunders, seamen; Edward Ekin, Patrick Patterson, jr. and Joseph Butler, passengers. So complete was the destruction of the doomed ship, that the only vestiges of her to be found, are small pieces of timber, not more than four feet long.

The following protest drawn up by the mate of the lost vessel for presentation to his owners, briefly and fully narrates the particulars of the painful event:

"On the 8th of October last past, the ship Stephen Whitney left the port of New-York, bound for Liverpool. Nothing material occurred on the passage, until Wednesday, the 10th day of November, instant, on which day, or/or about two o'clock in the afternoon, the ship was hove to, and soundings were had in fifty fathoms. The weather was particularly thick, and the wind blowing very hard. The ship was under double-reefed topsails. At 6 o'clock, P. M. the wind increasing, the sails were close reefed; at 8 o'clock, P. M. made the land very close to the ship.

"After clawing off from the land, saw a fixed white light, which, on consulting with the captain, I took for the light at the Old Head at Kinsale; hauled off the ship on the starboard tack, heading south-east by south. At 9 o'clock, considering we had sufficient offing, steered the channel course, east by south, and at a quarter to 10 the land was made ahead, the helm was put a-port, and on coming round, owing to the heavy sea then running, the ship went ashore. In a few minutes, out of one hundred and ten human beings, passengers and crew, ninety-one perished, among whom were the captain and second mate. The persons who were saved lost all their property, and were left nearly naked. Every exertion was made, but owing to the wild cliff on which the vessel struck, and the darkness of the night, it was impossible to make any effort to save any part of the ship or cargo."

This document was signed by the mate, two of the crew, and John Limerick, Esq. a local magistrate.

A reporter from one of the Cork papers visited the scene of the shipwreck, and thus describes what took place preparatory to the melancholy occurrence. "To this fatal error, which supposed the light on Rock Island, near Crookhaven, to be that of the Old Head, the disastrous results that ensued would appear to be, in a considerable degree, attributable. The light on Rock Island, as I have been informed, has been but very recently erected; and, from all that I could ascertain, the responsible persons on board appeared to be ignorant of its existence. Whether such ignorance involved a culpable neglect, will probably be a matter for future investigation.

The ship was again hauled off the land, and believing she had sufficient offing, a course was steered in relation to the supposed position of the Old Head, which, under the circumstance, was supposed to be the correct one. They kept on in this course until a quarter to 10 o'clock, when the land was signaled immediately ahead, and orders were promptly given to bring her round; but the tremendous surf which beat upon the rocks issued a sterner command, and it was evident the ill-fated ship was doomed.—A brief moment only ensued, and one terrific crash followed, which instantly consigned numbers to eternity. This single encounter stove in the entire side of the vessel; and in less than half an hour there were not two planks together, nor a single article of any description that could afford the means of escape to either passenger or sailor.

Unlike the greater number of these disastrous occurrences, where a respite of even a few hours affords the unhappy sufferers some means of probability of escape, the victims on this occasion were instantly hurled into eternity without a moment's thought or preparation. In less than ten minutes, out of one hundred and ten human beings, full of life and hope, enjoying the glad anticipation of meeting friends, relatives, and homes, ninety-two had ceased to exist.

"Through the mercy of Providence, eighteen individuals were rescued from the destruction which overwhelmed their associates—and, in many instances, their escape was effected with little assistance from their own strength or activity. Such was the suddenness of the calamity—such the fearful havoc which a few minutes created—that almost all on board were stupified with horror and amazement, and rendered totally inactive by the appalling catastrophe.

The survivors, bruised and naked, without shoe or stocking, jacket or waistcoat, scrambled up the rock, which overhung the sea to the height of nearly sixty feet, and, after searching about for some time arrived at two miserable huts, the only human tenements on the Island. Here they learned, for the first time, that they had struck on the western point of West Calf Island, situated in the channel between the village of Skull and Cape Clear Island, and lying about four miles inside the Cape. The two families who reside upon the Island were totally ignorant of the melancholy circumstance, until the distressed and worn-out mariners entered their wretched cabins for the purpose of craving shelter for the night."

The same writer adds—

"It may be proper to mention here that the point on which the ill-fated vessel was driven ashore, is one of the most dangerous on the entire coast—the rock rises perpendicular to the height of over fifty feet, and at all seasons of the year, the swell is terrific. On the day after the wreck occurred, the Government vessel Badger passed through the channel for the purpose of ascertaining whether it was possible to save any portion of the wreck or cargo; but the slightest portion, by which she could be recognized, was nowhere to be seen. In the words of one of the officers, it appeared as *if the ship had been ground in a mill*, or as if a number of carpenters were employed for months for the mere purpose of chipping her into fragments of some three or four feet in length."

Parliament was opened by commission at 2 o'clock, on the 18th, when the House of Commons proceeded to the choice of a Speaker. Mr. Shaw Lefevre, the late speaker, was re-elected by a unanimous vote, and the House adjourned to the next day.

The British and North American steamers will continue to run fortnightly during the winter unlil the new vessels shall be ready, when the Spring will commence with a weekly mail. The new arrangement will take place on the 1st of January, on which day the Cambria will sail for New-York.

The Archbishop of York, died at the Palace near York, Novemcer 5, after an illness of two days, in the 91st year of his age.

IRELAND.

The murders and outrages in this unhappy island still continue, especially in the county of Tipperary. The resistance of rents is becoming more decided and general.

The system of resistance to the poor rates, which has raised to such a head in many of the districts, has caused the Government to adopt decided steps for its enforcement.

The Government has issued a proclamation warning the people against the commission of crime, and admonishing them that those who harbour criminals and favour their evasion of justice, are, in the eyes of the law, criminals themselves, and will hereafter be dealt with accordingly. We have reason to believe that an arms act, of an extremely stringent character, is in course of preparation, and will be laid before Parliament at as early a period as possible. The Evening Mail says suspension of the habeas corpus act is the only measure adequate to the crisis.

FRANCE.

The Commerce announces that the potato crop had been everywhere gathered throughout France, and that it had been both abundant and of good quality.

Three cases of decided Asiatic Cholera are said to have shown themselves in the Faubourg St. Germain.

PORTUGAL.

The Queen was delivered of a prince on the 4th. Her Majesty attended the Italian Opera on the previous night, and remained till 11 o'clock.

ITALY.

Letters from Genoa of the 5th instant give an account of the enthusiastic reception of King Charles Albert at that city. At the gates of Genoa the local authorities, accompanied by about fifty thousand persons, received his Majesty with repeated cries of "Long live Charles Albert, the reforming Prince."

Among other interesting demonstrations by the people, the following incident occurred: The American Minister, Mr. Wickliffe, had stationed himself about half-way between Turin and Monculievi, in order to salute the King. No sooner did the immense multitude which followed the royal carriage perceive the American Minister, than they made the air ring with cries of "*Evviva gli Stati Uniti!*" "*Evviva America!*" *Evviva il Ministro della grade Republica!*". "Long live the United States!" Long live America!" "Long live the Minister of the Great Republic!" The cry thus commenced was taken up and continued by this vast assemblage of the people of Piedmont, extending from Turin to Monculievi, a distance of three miles. It is computed that between one and two hundred thousand people were in the procession.

The three Italian Princes who have entered upon a system of reform—that is, the Pope, the King of Sardinia, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany—have just laid the foundation of a Customs Union. The basis of it is, the greatest possible degree of freedom of trade.

Letters from Naples of the 30th ultimo, state that the insurrection is at an end.

The latest news states that blood had been shed at Fivizzano. The Modonese were the aggressors. The latter arrested, without knowing why, the serjeant-major of the Tuscan carbiners. The multitude killed one and wounded several. Upon this all the citizens came to arms, and a skirmish ensued, which was going on at the departure of the courier.

GERMANY.

In the sitting of the Bavarian Diet, on the 2d instant, Dr. Neumann, one of the king's commissioners, announced that the Government had demanded information respecting the state of the Jews, and would employ itself with the amelioration of the condition of that people.

M. Felix Mendelsohn Bartholdy, the celebrated composer, died at Leipzig on the 4th of November, of an attack of apoplexy. He was thirty eight years old, a grandson of the illustrious Philosopher Mendelssohn, and son of the celebrated archeologist, Jacques Solomon Bartholdy.

SWITZERLAND.

A letter from Berne, of the 12th instant, states that in the morning of that day General Defour, left for the army, accompanied by his staff and a detachment of cavalry.—During the night a Bornese battalion marched in the direction of Guogisburg, and the battalion of Soleure, composed of Catholics, also departed from that capital. The troops intended to operate against Friburg, had assumed the positions assigned to them in the plan of attack.—The western division, commanded by Colonel Rilliet, took possession on the 11th instant, without any resistance, of the towns of Rue and Romont. Every man capable of bearing arms had retired on the side of Friburg, leaving behind the women, children, and old men. The troops of Vaud occupied, on the 10th, Chattel St. Denys, where they seized upon the former Avoyer, M. Déglise, and subsequently, continued their march upon Balle, which they were to have entered on the evening of the 11th.—Most of the syndics and parish priests of the districts, traversed by the Radical forces, had been arrested as hostages. The brigade of Kurtz, consisting of three battalions and some artillery, was in possession of Morat on the 11th. It appears from accounts which reached Berne, that Friburg was invested on the 12th by a military cordon.

A report had been received at Berne on the 12th, that twenty-seven men of the battalion of Fusi had been surrounded and made prisoners. That intelligence had spread like lightning through the army, and the troops loudly demanded to be marched to Unterdietwyl, in order to punish the inhabitants, whom they charged with treachery. An engagement took place on the 8th, at the foot of St. Gothard, the result of which was not known.

The *Basle Gazette* of the 13th mentions a report from Berne, that the Grand Council of Friburg had demanded a suspension of hostilities until Saturday which had been granted by the commander of the Federal forces.

A letter from Basle says: "We have received unquestionable news that the bombardment of Friburg commenced on the 12th instant."

All the Cantons of the Sonderbund have been blockaded since the day the declaration of war was made by the Diet. The markets of Zurich and Argovie from which they have hitherto derived their supplies of provisions, are closed against them. They may, however, for the present, obtain provisions from some of the Catholic valleys of the Grisons, and from the Canton of Valais, which communicates directly with Savoy and Piedmont; but as the Winter advances, the passes will be blocked up by snow, and, deprived of this resource, they will probably be starved into a surrender.

A letter from Basle, of the 8th, states that it was rumoured that the troops of Zurich had, on the previous day, taken possession of Zug, after some skirmishing, in which they obtained the advantage, and that, after leaving a garrison in Zug, the main body of the Zurichers had marched on Lucerne, and had taken possession of all the towns and villages situated without the lines of defence on the Reuss and the Emme.

Accounts from the Tyrol say that great excitement prevails there owing to the events passing in Switzerland, which is greatly increased by the movements of the Austrian troops. The Tyrolese feel great sympathy for the Sonderbund. Like the Swiss, the Tyrolese live in the midst of a mountainous region; they are all Catholics, and are averse to innovation. The news of the defeat of the free corps, three years ago, was hailed with universel joy through all Tyrol.

RUSSIA.

The Cholera has already disappeared from Moscow, but it appears to be spreading beyond that city in the direction of St. Petersburg.

According to the latest intelligence from Moscow, the number of patients in that city on the morning of the 16th of October, amounted to one hundred and five. On the same day thirty-seven others were attacked, of whom twenty-three have died. On the evening of the 17th of October, the number of patients was one hundred and thirty-five, which is considered an insignificant proportion for three hundred thousand inhabitants.

There have been a few cases at Waldai and at Novogorod, a city not more than forty leagues from St. Petersburg.

The Cholera at Falmouth.—On Tuesday evening a meeting of the Worcester town council was held, at which Mr. Councillor Ainsworth read the following communication from Falmouth:—"A case of cholera on board of a ship from the Black Sea has occurred here; ship placed under quarantine. Another ship arrived with a foul bill of health; under quarantine.

Napoleon's worthless widow, Maria Louisa, Dutchess of Parma, has married one of her ministers.

NOTICES.

E. D. HUDSON'S APPOINTMENTS.

E. D. Hudson, and Lewis Hayden, an American Slave, will hold Anti-Slavery meetings in Oneida, Oswego, and Onondaga counties, beginning as follows:

West Vienna, Saturday, December	"	11th
Cleveland, Sunday,	"	12th
Constantia, Monday,	"	13th
Hastings, Tuesday	"	14th
Central Square, Wednesday,	"	15th
Smith's Mills, Thursday,	"	16th
Parish, Friday,	"	17th
Colosse, Saturday,	"	18th
OSWEGO COU		
Union Square, Sunday,	"	20th
Richland, Monday,	"	21st
Pulaski, Tuesday,	"	22nd
Port Ontario, Wednesday	"	23d
Mexicoville, Thursday,	"	24th and 25th
New Haven, Friday and Saturday,	"	26th and 27th
Oswego, Sunday and Monday,	"	28th and 29th
Hannibalville, Tues. and Wednesday,	"	30th and 31st
Granby, Thursday and Friday,	"	January 1st and 2d
Volney, Saturday and Sunday	"	3d and 4th
Fulton, Monday and Tuesday,		
OTSEGO COUNTY.		
Gilbertsville, Wednes. and Thurs.	January	5th and 6th
Phoenix, Friday,	"	7th
Caughenway, Saturday,	"	8th
ONONDAGA COUNTY.		
Fort Brewerton, Sunday,	"	9th
Cicero Corners, Monday,	"	10th
Hicksville, Tuesday,	"	11th

The meetings will commence at 1 and 6 o'clock, P. M.

J. C. HATHAWAY,
General Agent of the State of New-York.

Farmington, 12th mo. 1847.

☞ THE BAZAAR! ☜

To the friends of the Cause, who wish to help in the decoration of Faneuil Hall for the Bazaar.

Great quantities of the "running pine," (as it is called in some places) will be needed. Many dozens of barrels full of it will not be too much. It need not be made up into wreaths, as we are promised much help on the floor of the Hall, in preparing and decorating. *Only give us the raw material in abundance*, that we may not be oblige to expend the hard-eared funds of the occasion in paying bills after it is over.

The savin, or red-cedar, is to be the basis of the ever-green material. Friends having it in their power to supply one or several loads of the "savin brush" are entreated to communicate *immediately* with the Committee, as also those who can furnish he running pine.

Ladies intending to come to town to superintend the sale of their own goods, and who have no friends residing in town, are requested to communicate their intention to the Committee, that we may do all in our power towards their hospitable reception.

M. W. CHAPMAN,
For the Committee.

N. B. ☞ All friends able and willing to aid in putting up the decorations previous to the opening of the Bazaar, are entreated to be in attendance for the cause's sake. Seasonable notice of the time will be given hereafter.

☞ The Boston Female A. S. Society at its last annual meeting, voted to ask the aid of all the Anti-Slavery ministers of the city, in organizing a corps of workers for the Bazaar (to be opened at Faneuil Hall on the 21st Dec.) in their respective congregations. They also voted to recommend the same course to all the Anti-Slavery friends throughout the Country.

This is an excellent suggestion. Let each friend of the cause, then, begin, though alone, to work for the Bazaar, and testify the respect due to all those ministers in his or her vicinity, who have heretofore befriended the cause, by asking them to read the address of the Committee to their people, to give notice of a time and place of meeting for planning and preparing useful and ornamental work, appointing collectors to raise money for the purchase of materials, &c. &c.

Wherever a sewing circle is now in operation, its numbers and efficiency may in all probability be greatly increased in this way, and where none exists, a single individual may create one, in any place where the slightest feeling for the cause is felt. Let an effort of this kind follow every Anti-Slavery lecture.

The hostility of the cities in Massachusetts towards the cause, is less than ever before. There will be more purchasers at the Bazaar: it is the responsibility of the Abolitionists to see to it that there are more goods.

☞ Nothing, either useful or ornamental, fit either for food or clothing, can come amiss. Children's toys, needle books, handsome Bags and Pin-cushions will be sure of a sale.

ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR AT WEST WINFIELD.

On January 26th and 27th, 1848.

The friends of the slave are invited to make preparations for our next Fair, to be held at the time above mentioned. There is no time to be lost. The slave is still toiling, toiling, toiling,—hopeless, helpless, desolate.—Woman,—aye, a million of women are even now given over to the lust, the passions, the power, the oppression of the merciless task-master, the unfeeling overseer.

In the name of these outraged ones, we ask each and all of you to do something,—do what you can, do all that you can, to hasten their deliverance. Ask your neighbours to help you. Many of them will willingly give their aid if you will only invite them. Prejudice is giving way. A spirit of inquiry is abroad. Freedom is gaining ground. Now is the time for effort.

Charles Lenox Remond, E. D. Hudson, Lewis Hayden, J. C. Hathaway, and other speakers will be present.

Dolly Thomas	Miranda A. E. Greene
Sarah Guild	Phebe Backus
Hannah Bucklin	Laura Eldred
Emeline Murdock	Julia Ann Eaton
Henrietta

Poetry.

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

ON A LOVELY DAY IN NOVEMBER.

Thanks! for the bright and the beautiful day;
That bends like an angel of light o'er our way,
Lift up thy heart to the azure arched sky;
Hung like a banner of gladness on high.

Mother! who mournest o'er the pride of thy age,
Resting where armies in battle engage—
Lift thy sad eyes to the beautiful light;
Nor grieve for the valiant who fell for the right.

Sister! why wearest the chain of the slave;
Lean thou, on "Him, who is mighty to save."
Lift up thy soul to the beautiful sky!
THERE in glad freedom, thy spirit may fly.

Brother! why pinest in thy dungeon so dim,
Where the pale sunbeam at noon stealeth in;
Gilding thy penitent tears as they fall!
Bless *Him*, whose glory still beameth for all!

What though Life's surges roll wildly and dark,
Dashing with fury our heaven-bound bark!
Still let us sing, 'mid the sighs of the gale, [vail.
And bear ourselves bravely; though Death should pre-

EMMALINE EVANS.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 25th, 1847.

INFANCY.

BY VICTOR HUGO.

In the dusky alcove,
Near the altar laid,
Sleeps the child in shadow
Of his mother's bed:
Softly he reposes;
And his lids of roses,
Closed to earth, encloses
On the heaven o'erhead.

Many a dream is with him,
Fresh from Fairyland;
Spangled o'er with diamonds
Seems the ocean sand;
Suns are gleaming there;
Troops of ladies fair
Souls of infants bear,
In their charming hand.

O! enchanting vision!
Lo! a rill upsprings,
And from out its bosom
Comes a voice that sings.
Lovelier there appear,
Sire and sisters dear,
While his mother near,
Plumes her newborn wings.

But a brighter vision
Yet his eyes behold:
Roses, all, and lilies,
Every path unfold:
Lakes in shadow sleeping,
Silver fishes leaping,
And the waters creeping
Through the reeds of gold.

Slumber on, sweet infant,
Slumber peacefully!
Thy young soul knows not
What thy lot may be.
Like dead leaves that sweep
Down the stormy deep,
Thou art borne in sleep:
What is all to thee?

* * * * *

Innocent! thou sleepest!—
See, the heavenly band,
Who foreknow the trials
That for man are planned,
Seeing him unarmed,
Unfearing, unalarmed,
With their tears have warmed
His unconscious hand.

Angels, hovering o'er him,
Kiss him where he lies;
Hark! he sees them weeping;
"Gabriel!" he cries;
"Hush!" the angel says,
On his lip he lays
One finger, and displays
His native skies.

Miscellany.

From Howitt's Journal.

THE SEXTON'S HERO.

BY COTTON MATHER MILLS, ESQ.

The afternoon sun shed down his glorious rays on the grassy churchyard, making the shadow cast by the old yew-tree under which we sat, seem deeper and deeper by contrast. The everlasting hum of myriads of summer insects made luxurious lullaby.

Of the view that lay beneath our gaze, I cannot speak adequately. The fore-ground was the gray stone wall of the vicarage garden; rich in the colouring made by innumerable lichens, ferns, ivy of most tender green and most delicious tracery, and the vivid scarlet of the crane's bill, which found a home in every nook and crevice—and at the summit of that old wall flaunted some unpruned tendrils of the vine, and long flower-laden branches of the climbing rose-tree, trained against the inner side. Beyond lay meadow-green and mountain-gray, and the blue dazzle of Morecombe Bay, as it sparkled between us and the more distant view.

For awhile we were silent, living in sight and murmuring sound. Then Jeremy took up our conversation where, suddenly feeling weariness as we saw that deep green shadowy resting-place, we had ceased speaking a quarter of an hour before.

It is one of the luxuries of holyday-time, that thoughts are not rudely shaken from us by outward violence of hurry, and busy impatience, but fall maturely from our lips in the sunny leisure of our days. The stock may be bad, but the fruit is ripe.

"How would you then define a hero?" I asked.

There was a long pause, and I had almost forgotten my question in watching a cloud-shadow floating over the far-away hills, when Jeremy made answer—

"My idea of a hero is one who acts up to the highest idea of duty he has been able to form, no matter at what sacrifice. I think that by this definition we may include all phases of character, even to the heroes of old, whose soul (and to us low) idea of duty consisted in personal prowess."

"Then you would even admit the military heroes?" asked I.

"I would, with a certain kind of pity for the circumstances which had given them no higher ideas of duty. Still, if they sacrificed self, to do what they sincerely believed to be right, I do not think I could deny them the title of a hero."

"A poor unchristian heroism, whose manifestation consists in injury to others!" I said.

We were both startled by a third voice—

"If I might make so bold, Sir"—and then the speaker stopped.

It was the sexton, whom, when we first arrived, we had noticed, as an accessory to the scene, but whom we had forgotten as much as though he were as inanimate as one of the moss-covered headstones.

"If I might be so bold," said he again, awaiting leave to speak. Jeremy bowed, in deference to his white, uncovered head. And so encouraged, he went on.

"What that gentleman (alluding to my last speech) has just now said, brings to my mind one who is dead and gone this many a year ago. I may not have rightly understood your meaning, gentlemen, but as far as I could gather it, I think you 'd both have given in to thinking poor Gilbert Dawson a hero. At any rate," said he, heaving a long quivering sigh, "I have reason to think him so."

"Will you take a seat, Sir, and tell us about him?" said Jeremy, standing up until the old man was seated. I confess I felt impatient at the interruption.

"It will be forty-five year, come Martinmas," said the sexton, sitting down on a grassy mound at our feet, "since I had finished my 'prenticeship and settled down at Lindal. You can see Lindal, Sir, at evenings and mornings, across the bay—a little to the right of Grange; at least I used to see it many a time and oft, afore my sight grew so dark; and I have spent many a quarter of an hour a-gazing at it far away, and thinking of the days I lived there, till the tears came so thick to my eyes I could gaze no longer. I shall never look upon it again, either far-off or near, but you may see it both ways, and a terrible bonny spot it is. In my young days, when I went to settle there, it was full of as wild a set of young fellows as ever were clapped eyes on; all for fighting, poaching, quarreling, and such-like work. I were startled myself, when I first found what a set I were among, but soon I began to fall into their ways, and I ended by being as rough a chap as any on 'em. I 'd been there a matter of two year, and were reckoned by most the cock of the village, when Gilbert Dawson, as I was speaking of, came to Lindal. He were about as strapping a chap as I was, (I used to be six feet high; though now I 'm shrunk and doubled up,) and, as we were like in the same trade, (both used to prepare osiers and wood for the Liverpool coopers, who get a deal of stuff from the copses round the Bay, Sir,) we were thrown together, and took mightily to each other. I put my best leg foremost to be equal to Gilbert, for I 'd had some schooling, though since I 'd been at Lindal I 'd lost a good part of what I learnt; and I kept my rough ways out of sight for a time, I felt so ashamed of his getting to know them. But that did n't last long.—I began to think he fancied a girl I dearly loved, but who had always held off from me. Eh! but she was a pretty one in those days. There's none like her now. I think I see her going along the road with her dancing tread, and shaking back her long yellow curls, to give me or any other young fellow a saucy word. No wonder Gilbert was taken with her, for all he was grave, and she so merry and light.—But I began to think she liked him again; and then my blood was all afire. I got to hate him for every thing he did. Aforetime I had stood by, admiring to see him—how he lept, what a quoiter and cricketer he was. And now I ground my teeth with hatred, when e'er he did a thing which caught Letty's eye. I could read it in her eye that she liked him, for all she held herself just as high with him as with all the rest. Lord God forgive me! how I hated that man."

He spoke as if the hatred were a thing of yesterday, so clear within his memory were shown the actions and feelings of his youth. And then he dropped his voice, and said:

"Well! I began to look out to pick a quarrel with him. If I beat him, (and I were a rare boxer in those days,) I thought Letty would look cool towards him. So one evening at quoits (I 'm sure I don't know how or why, but large doings grew out of small words,) I fell out with him, and challenged him to fight. I could see he were very wroth, by his colour coming and going—and as I said before, he were a fine active young fellow. But all at once he drew in, and said he would not fight. Such a yell as the Lindal lads, who were watching us, set up! I hear it yet; I could na' help but feel sorry for him, to be so scorned, and I thought he 'd not rightly taken my meaning, and I 'd give him another chance; so I said it again, and dared him, as plain as words could speak, to fight out the quarrel. He told me then he had no quarrel against me—that he might have said something to put me up—he did not know that he had, but that if he had, he asked pardon; but that he would not fight no how.

"I was so full of scorn at his cowardliness, that I was vexed I 'd given him the second chance, and I joined in the yell that was set up twice as bad as before. He stood it out, his teeth set, and looking very white, and when we were silent for want of breath, he said out loud, but in a hoarse voice, quite different from his own—'I cannot fight, because I think it is wrong to quarrel and use violence.'

"Then he turned to go away; I were so beside myself with scorn and hate, that I called out—

"'Tell truth, lad, at least, if thou dare not fight, dunnot go and tell a lie about it. Mother's moppet is afraid of a black eye, pretty dear. It shannot be hurt, but it munnot tell lies.'

"Well, they laughed, but I could not laugh. It seemed such a thing for a stout young chap to be a coward, and afraid!

"Before the sun had set, it was talked all over Lindal, how I had challenged Gilbert to fight, and how he 'd denied me; and the folks stood at their doors and looked at him going up the hill to his home, as if he 'd been a monkey or a foreigner—but no one wished him good e'en. Such a thing as refusing to fight had never been heard of afore at Lindal. Next day, however, they had found voice. The men muttered the word 'coward' in his hearing, and kept aloof; the women tittered as he passed, and the little impudent lads and lasses shouted out, 'How long is it sin' thou turned Quaker?'—'Good bye, Jonathan Broadbrim,' and such like jests.

"That evening I met him, with Letty by his side, coming up from the shore. She was almost crying, as I came upon them at the turn of the lane; and looking up in his face, as if begging him something. And so she was; she told me after. For she did really like him; and could not abide to hear him scorned by every one for being a coward; and she, coy as she was, all but told him that very night that she loved him, and begged him not to disgrace himself, but fight me as I dared him to do. When he still stuck to it he could not, for that it was wrong, she was so vexed and mad-like at the way she 'd spoken, and the feelings she 'd let out to coax him, that she said more stinging things about his being a coward than all the rest put together, (according to what she told me, Sir, afterwards,) and ended by saying she 'd never speak to him again, as long as she lived. She did once again, though her blessing was the last human speech that reached his ear in his wild death-struggle.

"But much happened afore that time. From the day I met them walking, Letty turned towards me; I could see a part of it was spite to Gilbert, for she 'd be twice as kind when he was near, or likely to hear of it; but by-and-by she got to like me for my own sake, and it was all settled for our marriage. Gilbert kept aloof from every one, and fell into a sad careless way. His very gate was changed—his step used to be brisk and sounding, and now his foot lingered heavily on the ground. I used to try and daunt him with my eye, but he would always meet my look in a study, quiet way, for all so much about him was altered; the lads would not play with him; and as soon as he found he was to be slighted by them whenever he came to quoiting or cricket, he just left off coming.

"The old clerk was the only one he kept company with; or, perhaps, rightly to speak, the only one who would keep company with him. They got so thick at last, that old Jonas would say Gilbert had Gospel on his side, and did no more than Gospel told him to do; but we none of us gave much credit to what he said, more by token our vicar had a brother, a Colonel in the army; and as we threeped it many a time at Jonas, would he set himself up to know the Gospel better than the vicar? That would be putting cart afore the horse, like the French radicals. And if the vicar had thought quarreling and fighting wicked, and agin the Bible, would he have made so much work about all the victories, that were plenty as blackberries at that time of day, and kept the little bell of Lindal Church forever ringing? or would he have thought so much of 'my brother, the Colonel,' as he was always talking on?

"After I was married to Letty, I left off hating Gilbert. I even kind of pitied him—he was so scorned and slighted; and for all he 'd a bold look about him, as if he were not ashamed, he seemed pining and shrunk. It 's a wearied thing to be kept at arm's length by one's kind, and so Gilbert found it, poor fellow. The little children took to him, though; they 'd be round him like a swarm of bees, them as was too young to know what a coward was and only felt that he was ever ready to love and to help them, and was never loud or cross, however naughty they might be. After a while we had our little one, too; such a blessed darling as she was, and dearly did we love her—Letty in especial, who seemed to get all the thought I used to think sometimes she wanted, after she had her baby to care for.

"All my kin lived on this side the bay, up above Keller. Jane (that 's her that lies buried near yon white rose-tree,) was to be married, and naught would serve her but that Letty and I must come to the wedding; for all my sisters loved Letty, she had such winning ways with her. Letty did not like to leave her baby, nor yet did I want her to take it; so, after a talk, we fixed to leave it with Letty's mother for the afternoon. I could see her heart ached a bit, for she 'd never left it till then, and she seemed to fear all manner of evil, even to the French coming and taking it away. Well, we borrowed a shandry, and harnessed my old gray mare, as I used in the cart, and set off as grand as King George, across the Sands, about three o'clock, for you see it were high water about twelve, and we 'd to go and come back the same time, as Letty could not leave her baby for long. It was a merry afternoon, were that; last time I ever saw Letty laugh heartily; and for that matter, last time I ever laughed down-right hearty myself. The latest crossing time fell about nine o'clock, and we were late at starting. Clocks were wrong; and we 'd a piece of work chasing a pig father had given Letty to take home. We bagged him at last, and he screeched and screeched in the back part of the shandry, and we laughed and they laughed; and in the midst of all the merriment the sun set, and that sobered us a bit, for then we knew what time it was. I whipped the old mare, but she was a deal beener than she was in the morning, and would neither go quick up nor down the brows, and they 're not a few 'twixt Kellet and the shore. On the Sands it were worse. They were very heavy, for the fresh had come down after the rains we had had. Lord! how I did whip the poor mare, to make the most of the red light as yet lasted. You, may-be, don't know the Sands, gentlemen. From Bolton-side, where we started from, it 's better than six mile to Cart-Lane, and two channels to cross, let alone holes and quicksands. At the second channel from us, the guide waits all during the crossing-time from sunrise to sunset; but for the three hours on each side high water, he 's not there, in course. He stays after sunset if he 's fore-spoken—not else. So now you know where we were that awful night. For we 'd crossed the first channel about two mile, and it were growing darker and darker above and around us, all but one red line of light above the hills, when we came to a hollow, (for all the Sands look so flat, there 's many a hollow in them, where you 'll lose all sight of the shore.) We were longer than we should ha' been in crossing the hollow, the sand was so quick; and when we came up again, there among the blackness, was the white line of the rushing tide coming up the bay. It looked not a mile from us. And when the wind blows up the bay, it comes swifter than a gallopping horse. "Lord help us!" said I, and then I were sorry I had spoken, to frighten Letty, but the words were crushed out of my heart by the terror. I felt her shiver up by my side, and clutch my coat. And as if the pig, (as had screeched himself hoarse some time ago,) had found out the danger we were all in, he took to squealing again, enough to bewilder any man. I cursed him between my teeth, for his noise; and yet it was God's answer to my prayer, blind sinner as I was. Aye! you may smile, Sir, but God can work through many a scornful thing, if need be.

"By this time the mare were all in a lather, and trembling and panting as if in mortal fright: for though we were on the last bank afore the second channel, the water was gathering up her legs, and she so tired out! When we came close to the channel, she stood still, and not all my flogging could get her to stir; she fairly groaned aloud and shook in a terrible quaking way. Till now Letty had not spoken—only held my coat tightly. I heard her say something, and bent down my head.

"'I think, John—I think—I shall never see baby again!'

"And then she set up such a cry—so loud and shrill and pitiful! It fairly maddened me, I pulled out my knife to spur on the old mare, that it might end one way or the other, for the water was stealing sullenly up to the very axletree, let alone the white waves that know no mercy in their steady advance. That one quarter of an hour, Sir, seemed as long as all my life since. Thoughts and fancies and dreams and memory run into each other. The mist, the heavy mist, that was like a ghastly curtain, shutting us in for death, seemed to bring with it the scents of the flowers that grew around our own threshold—it might be, for it was falling on them like blessed dew, though to us it was a shroud.—Letty told me it after, she heard her baby crying for her above the gurgle of the rising waters, as plain as ever she heard anything; but the sea-birds were skirling, and the pig shrieking—I never caught it; it were miles away, at any rate.

"Just as I 'd gotten my knife out, another sound was close upon us, blending with the gurgle of the near waters, and the roar of the distant, (not so distant, though;) we could hardly see, but thought we saw something black against the deep lead colour of the wave, and mist, and sky. It neared and neared; with slow and steady motion it came across the channel right to where we were. O, God! it was Gilbert Dawson, on his strong bay horse.

"Few words did we speak, and little time had we to say them in. I had no knowledge at that moment of the past or future—only of one present thought—how to save Letty, and if I could, myself. I only remembered afterwards that Gilbert said he had been guided by an animal's shriek of terror. I only heard, when all was over, that he had been uneasy about our return, because of the depth of fresh; and had borrowed a pillion and saddled his horse early in the evening, and ridden down to Cart Lane to watch for us. If all had gone well we should ne'er have heard of it. As it was, old Jonas told of it, the tears down-dropping from his withered cheeks.

"We fastened his horse to the shandry; we lifted Letty to the pillion. The waters rose every instant, with sullen sound. They were all but in the shandry. Letty clung to the pillion-handles, but drooped her head as if she had yet no hope of life. Swifter than thought, (and yet he might have had time for though, and for temptation, Sir—if he had ridden off with Letty, he would have been saved, not me,) Gilbert was in the shandry by my side.

"'Quick!' said he, in a clear, firm voice. 'You must ride before her, and keep her up. The horse can swim. By God's mercy I will follow. I can cut the traces, and the mare is not hampered with the shandry, she 'll carry me safely through. At any rate, you are a husband and a father. No one cares for me.'

"Do not hate me, gentlemen. I often wish that night was a dream. It has haunted my sleep ever since like a dream. I took his place on the saddle. and put Letty's arms around me, and felt her head rest on my shoulder. I trust in God I spoke some word of thanks; but I can't remember. I only recollect Letty raising her head, and calling out—

"'God bless you, Gilbert Dawson, for saving my baby from being an orphan this night.' And then she fell against me as if unconscious.

"I bore her through; or rather the strong horse swam bravely through the gathering waves. We were dripping wet when we reached the banks on shore; but we could have but one thought—where was Gilbert? Thick mists and heaving waters compassed us round. Where was he? We shouted. Letty, faint as she was, raised her voice, and shouted, clear and shrill. No answer came. The sea boomed on, with ceaseless, sullen beat. I rode to the guide's house. He was a-bed, and would not get up, though I offered him more than I was worth. Perhaps he knew it—the cursed old villain. At any rate, I 'd have paid it, if I 'd toiled my life long. He said I might take his horn and welcome. I did, and blew such a blast through the still, black night, the echoes came back upon the heavy air. But no human voice or sound was heard; that wild blast could not awaken the dead.

"I took Letty home to her baby, over whom she wept the live-long night. I rode back to the shore about Cart-Lane; and to and fro, with weary march, did I pace along the brink of the waters, now and then shouting out into the silence a vain cry for Gilbert. The waters went back, and left no trace. Two days afterwards he was washed ashore near Flukesborough. The shandry and poor old mare were found half buried in a heap of sand by Arnside Knot. As far as we could guess, he had dropped his knife while trying to cut the traces, and so had lost all chance of life. At any rate, the knife was found in a cleft of the shaft.

"His friends came over from Garstang to his funeral. I wanted to go chief mourner; but it was not my right, and I might not; though I've never done mourning him to this day. When his sister packed up his things, I begged hard for something that had been his. She would give me none of his clothes, (she was a right-down saving woman;) she had boys of her own who might grow up into them. But she threw me his Bible, as she said they 'd gotten one already, and his were but a poor used-up thing. It was his, and so I cared for it.—It were a black leather one, with pockets at the sides, old-fashioned wise; and in one were a bunch of wild flowers. Letty said she could almost be sure they were some she had once given him.

"There were many a text in the Gospel marked broad with his carpenter's pencil, which more than bore him out in his refusal to fight. Of a surety, Sir, there's call enough for bravery in the service of God, and to show love to man, without quarreling and fighting.

"Thank you, gentlemen, for listening to me.—Your words called up the thoughts of him, and my heart was full to speaking. But I must make up; I've to dig a grave for a little child, who is to be buried to-morrow morning, just when his playmates are trooping off to school."

"But tell us of Letty; is she yet alive?" asked Jeremy.

The old man shook his head, and struggled against a choking sigh. After a minute's pause, he said—

"She died in less than two years after that night. She never was like the same again. She would sit thinking, on Gilbert, I guessed; but I could not blame her. We had a boy, and we named it Gilbert Dawson Knipe; he that's stoker on the London railway. Our girl was carried off in teething, and Letty just quietly drooped, and died in less than a six-week. They were buried here; so I came to be near them, and away from Lindal—a place I could never abide after Letty was gone."

He turned to his work, and we, having rested sufficiently, rose up, and came away.

From the Portland Pleasure Boat.

"LO! THE POOR INDIAN."

"Capt. John," of the Penobscot tribe of Indians, grandson of Sabattas, a former chief, is now in prison in this city. Like too many others of his race, he has fallen into some of the vices of the whites. He has been taught by the pale-faces that thanksgiving consists in gratifying depraved appetites; and on Thanksgiving day took too much "ocoby," while the pale-faces were expressing their thanks by indulging their gluttonous propensities; and under the influence of his dram, he stole a cane valued at $2, for which he is to lay in jail till the March term, waiting for a Court to try him.

The pale-faces can steal the Indians' moose, beavers, deer, and other game, rob them of their hunting grounds and their fathers' graves, and teach them to get drunk and steal; but if the poor Indian steals so much as a walking-stick, after they have taught him the art, he must be locked up in prison, and wait months for a trial, and then, perhaps, be sent to the State Prison! The Indians did not get drunk, nor steal, when the whites first found them, and it would be better for the whites to reform themselves, and then labour to reform the Indians, than to crush the remnant of humanity out of them by imprisonment.

John's bonds for appearance to Court are $100; but probably there is not Christianity enough in the city among those who are able, to bail him out; and I doubt whether there is enough to visit him while in prison. Cannot the good people build another splendid church, or "modernize" an old one, and "fit it up in the most elegant style?" Can they not send another priest to Europe for his health, or another missionary to heathen lands, while John, the poor savage, is in jail? Can they not rob some other tribe of their lands, or get up a war with some other province for the extension of Slavery, while punishing the heathen for doing what they have taught him to do? They might, at least, hold another Thanksgiving, if they can obtain poultry and other fixings enough to make one of.

If our priests and missionary societies will convert "Capt. John," and make a good, steady, pious Christian of him, we shall begin to believe they can benefit the heathen. Let them try—they have him now, in their own lock up.

From Chambers' Journal.

THE NERVOUS SYSTEM.

There is no subject, perhaps, which is so often mentioned, but so little understood by the public in general, as that of the "nerves." How often do we hear all classes of the community refer any unpleasant sensation or fanciful ailment to their being merely nervous; little understanding, however, when they make use of this term, what possible connection there can be between their feelings and their *nervous* system. Perhaps we shall surprise them when we mention that they can neither eat nor drink, walk nor talk, nor perform any action whatever, either voluntary or involuntary, but through the medium of their nervous system; a "system" the nature and functions of which we shall here endeavour to explain.

In man and other vertebrate animals, the great centre of the function is the brain and spinal marrow; the latter a prolongation of the brain as it were, down the spine. Now this great centre of nervous matter is endowed with two distinct functions. 1. That of being able to convey *motor power* to the muscles, by whose agency we are enabled to perform all the ordinary actions of the body, all the movements of our limbs. 2. That of sensation, which is of two kinds—*common sensation*, or that feeling of pain which is produced on the injury of any part of our body; and *special sensation*, to which are to be referred the five senses—of feeling, of sight, of hearing, of smelling, and of taste. From this mass of matter, capable of endowing the parts of our body with the power of motion, and of feeling or sensation, numerous trunks are sent off to all parts of the human frame—ramifying over its structure to such an inconceivable state of minuteness, that we cannot touch any part of our body, with even the point of a needle, without being conscious of pain, proving that some part of this great nervous centre has been injured or excited into action.

The great nervous trunk which supplies the lower extremity of man is equal in thickness to his little finger; divide it and he loses all power of moving his limb, all sense of feeling: the limb, to all intents and purposes, is dead; and, deprived of its nervous influence, mortifies. This power of endowing parts with motion and sensation is situated in two distinct structures, of which the brain and spinal marrow are composed; and anatomists from their colour, are accustomed to call them the *white* and the *gray* matter. In the brain the gray matter for the most part is external, inclosing in its folds the white matter; whilst in the spinal marrow it is internal, being completely surrounded by the white. Now, as a general rule, all the nervous trunks of the body and their branches, with the exception of nerves of special sensation, are composed of fibres derived from these two sources—that is, from the white and the gray matter; and these nervous trunks are conductors of that *change* produced in the nervous centre by the influence of the *mind*, which gives rise either to motion or sensation. But a most extraordinary fact, and one which is capable of being proved by direct experiment, is, that the change which takes place, to give rise to the phenomena of motion, has its origin at the great nervous centre, the source from which the trunks arise; and further, that this change takes place in the white matter. On the other hand, the change which gives rise to the phenomena of sensation takes place at the extremities of the nervous trunks—that is, at their ultimate distribution; and this change takes place in the gray matter.

The anatomist, in his dissections, is able to prove satisfactorily the origin of these nervous trunks; and he finds that all those rising from the spinal marrow, and most of those which are said to rise from the brain, do so by two roots, one of which is connected with the white matter, and the other with the gray. He can and has still further proved, by experiments performed on the living animal, that irritation by pinching or picking of the root which arises from the white matter gives rise to no sensation, as the animal shows no signs of suffering are immediately induced. Again: if in the dead animal we excite muscular contraction by means of galvanism, we must send the charge of electricity through the limb by means of the root arising from white matter, as no effect would be produced if we attempted to do it by means of the root arising from the gray. Allowing, then, the fact, that these nervous trunks are composed of two sets of fibres, one conveying sensitive, the other motor influence, let us apply it to practice.

Some part of the body meets with an injury—a change is immediately effected in the extremities of the sentient fibres, sensation is developed, and the change thus induced is conveyed by the sentient fibre to the brain, and through its medium to the mind. Through the mysterious agency of the mind, then, the motor power of the great nervous centre is brought into action, and a change is induced; this change is conveyed by the trunks to the muscles supplying the injured parts, or to other muscles, by whose combined action it is removed from further injury. But it is not necessary that an injury should be inflicted that motor influence should be generated as the mind has the power of inducing at will. All the movements of our bodies are effected by muscular action, and through the agency of the will. We move not a hand or foot, nor look at an object, without the mind having first willed that it shall be done.

But there are many actions in the human body which are performed independently of the will, though evidently under the influence of the mind, and through the medium of a nervous system; and this system is called by the anatomist the *sympathetic*. It consists of a number of little knot-like bodies called by the anatomist *ganglia*, which are extended along each side of the vertebral column—the whole of these ganglia being connected, by means of fibres, together. Now, it appears that each of these ganglia is capable of generating nervous influence, independently of the brain; hence each may be considered as a distinct nervous centre. The trunks arising from these ganglia are distributed principally to all those organs on which the vitality of the body depends, which are employed in the secretion and nutrition. It is the medium by which all parts of the body are brought into relation with each other, so that no one part shall become diseased or injured without the rest sympathizing with it, indirectly, therefore, becoming affected as well. Familiar examples of this fact are of every-day occurrence: a violent blow on the head will produce vomiting, owing to the sympathy which exists between the brain and stomach; and *vice versa*, a blow on the stomach will produce fainting, and even death, from the shock to the nervous system, and the arrest of its influence through the medium of the brain.

And now let us turn our attention once more to the influence of the mind over the functions of the body, through the agency of this part (the sympathetic) of the nervous system. We will here select a few familiar examples. What is referred to when one's mouth is said to be "watering" at the sight of some favourite fruit or food, is dependent on the influence of the mind acting through the medium of the nervous system supplying the organs secreting the saliva. Tears, again, are abundantly secreted under the moderate exciting influence of the emotions of joy, grief, or tenderness. When, however, the exciting cause is violent, they are suppressed; hence, in excessive grief, the anguish of the mind is lessened on the flow of tears. Fear stops the flow of saliva; and it is a common practice in India to detect a thief among the native servants by putting rice into their mouths, and he whose mouth is dried after a short time is considered the culprit. Under mental anxiety, persons become thin; freedom from it favours deposit of fat. It would be an endless task, however, to recapitulate the many examples that could be brought forward proving this influence of the mind; so that nervous complaints must be looked upon as disorders of the mind, and not of the body; cure the one, and you will cure the other.

Mental influence having, then, this power over the functions of the body, we cannot be surprised at many diseases being a consequence of its depraved or abnormal condition. Nor can we be surprised at many of the remarkable phenomena displayed by mesmerists: their patients on whom they exhibit are generally highly sensitive, with minds naturally liable to become excited under the manipulations of the operator. For this reason, also, homœopathy, hydropathy, &c. have succeeded in curing many patients of their fancied ailments, because it only required some strong excitement to remove the morbid mental impression. Hence change of scene and diet, change of usual habits, (for all the followers of these systems make it imperative on their patients to follow implicitly certain rules,) and lastly, not the least, a full determination, desire, or will on the part of the patient himself to get better—have succeeded, in a variety of complaints arising from mental causes, in effecting a cure. *

*The reader will receive this explanation of mesmeric phenomena as a hypothesis representing only the individual opinion of the writer of the above paper.—ED.

From the Christian Messenger.

A DEFEAT.—ITS CAUSES AND PRACTICAL USES.

BY GEORGE E. BAKER.

The defeat of the bill to abolish Capital Punishment in the Legislature of this State, was announced in your last paper. There are some circumstances, connected with the history of the progress of this bill in the House worthy of notice.

The friends of the bill were very much encouraged at the opening of the session, that a gentleman like Mr. Gould had been appointed Chairman of the Committee. Knowing him to be a man of high character, and commanding influence, they thought that the cause would not suffer in his hands. In this they have not been disappointed. He presented early in the session, a most able, interesting, and voluminous report; a document that cost him much labour and time, already severely tasked. And all through the debate and progress of the bill, he gave it his utmost care and attention. By personal application and interviews with the members, he ascertained that a majority of the whole House were favourable to the entire abolition of Capital Punishment. A number of the members came to Albany in favour of the Gallows, who subsequently became its warmest opposers. One member made an excellent speech in favour of the bill, who declared that had the vote been taken two months previous he should have voted against it.

Under all these circumstances, the friends of the bill had great hopes that it would pass the House. But we have seen that only forty-five members voted for its third reading, against fifty-three in the negative. We have the authority of Mr. Gould in saying that, seventeen *known* friends of the bill were absent when the vote was taken! He also says that several members voted in the negative, who had expressed themselves favourable to the bill.—The reasons given for these absences and negative votes are worthy of notice. Some of these persons stated that they were in favour of the bill themselves, but their constituents were not, and they did not feel disposed to vote contrary to their wishes. Others thought that the time had not arrived for so great a change, and some of them said that they had been specially counselled by some of their most influential constituents to vote against it, and they dared not do otherwise. Others had heard none of their constituents express their opinion either way on the subject, and did not on that account feel at liberty to vote for the bill.

Notwithstanding all these adverse circumstances, we have great reason to be encouraged. Much light has been shed upon the subject by the discussion of the question, and we know better than before, the obstacles that prevent the triumph of the measure. Shall we not improve these advantages?

First, by a more general circulation of the various publications advocating the Reform.

Second, by increasing the number of petitioners at the next session of the Legislature.

Third, by agitating the subject by communications to the secular papers, Sermons, Lectures, and Debates.

And most especially at this time do we wish to urge upon every reader of this article, the great importance of a personal interview with the member of the Senate and Assembly from his district. Let every friend of the abolition of Capital Punishment into whose hands this may fall, make it a point to have a conversation with the member from his district, and urge upon him the demand for the repeal of the bloody law. No person, male or female, is without influence in this way, and, reader, why will *you* not do it. The cause of humanity, of enlightened civilization, and, more than all, the profession of Christianity imperatively and earnestly demands your active exertions in this cause. Let it not be said at the next session of our Legislature, by hesitating friends, "our constituents have never expressed any interest in the measure."

Gleanings from Foreign Publications.

JEWS' INSTITUTION, SUSSEX-HALL.—Mr. Frederick Rowton gave his concluding lecture on the genius and writings of Charles Dickens, at this institution on Thursday evening last. The aims and tendencies of Mr. Dickens's works formed the subject of this discourse. After arguing that by this test an author's writings should mainly be judged, the lecturer proceeded to consider Dickens's works *seriatim*. Of the "Sketches," he said that although the author's object was comparatively slight, the book contained much just and well-directed satire upon social folly. Of "Pickwick," Mr. Rowton observed, that it displayed a great progress in the author's mind, and afforded strong evidence of mental growth, even in comparing the conclusion of the work with its commencement. Going on to notice "Oliver Twist," the lecturer took occasion to point out Dickens's strong satire upon the prevalent theory of poor-law relief, a subject which the audience exhibited a marked sympathy with the writer. "Nicholas Nickleby," afforded an opportunity for remarks upon Yorkshire, or cheap boarding-schools, and "Barnaby Rudge," gave the lecturer occasion to notice Dickens's true charity in matters of religion, and his strong condemnation of the proud pharisaism so rampant in our day. "The Carol," "Chuzzlewit," and "Dombey," also came in for their due share of notice; and after arguing from Dickens's latest work, that his genius is not even yet fully developed, and that we may expect productions of greater power still from his pen, Mr. Rowton concluded by displaying and urging that one great [illegible] which is present in all Dickens's writings, was the endeavour to make men more cheerful, contented and happy; to impress them with a stronger love and a better opinion of their kind; and to promote in their hearts the true principles of charity and brotherhood.

EXTENSIVE, nearly, with ordinary pauperism is that species of poverty termed religious destitution. It is notorious that this description of indigence is very prevalent in the metropolitan parishes. The amount of the evil, however, is even greater than it is supposed to be. We must observe that the phrase religious destitution, means something else than the mere want of clergymen—of bishops, priests, and deacons. It also signifies the lack of religion itself; a penury in faith, and hope, and charity; and particularly in the last of these virtues. Religious destitution, thus understood, is not confined to lanes, courts, and alleys. It exists also in crescents, squares, and terraces, among substantial dwelling-houses as well as sordid hovels. The religiously destitute are not limited to that class for whose members the free seats in churches are provided.

They are likewise to be found in the superior order of sinners, for whose accommodation are destined the church pews. Nay, if we ascend from the pew to the pulpit, we shall sometimes recognize, even in that high place, the existence of religious destitution.—*Jerrolds Newspaper.*

DEATH OF THE GIPSY KING.—The venerable patriarch of the Gipsy tribe, Will Faa, died at Kirk-Yetholm, last week, in the 96th year of his age.—Up to a very recent period he was in the enjoyment of a hale old age—pursuing his favourite amusement with the fishing-rod, and taking long rambles; but, within these few months back, his iron frame indicated quick coming decay. His death was made the occasion for a gipsy wake, which consisted of more than ordinary bouse among such of the clan who were in the village and neighbourhood. Will held his kingly honours unchallenged for many years, and was as proud of his pedigree as if he had had all the blood of the Howards purpling his veins.—*North British Mail.*

PRESENT TO THE PRINCE OF WALES.—So many people continue to pour in presents for the Prince of Wales, that Sir Denis le Marchant has, at length, been compelled to write a strong letter to one of the would-be-donors. A garbled copy of the epistle has appeared in the columns of our cotemporaries. It is reserved for *Punch* to give a true copy:

Whitehall, October 5th, 1847.

"SIR: In the absence of the Secretary, Sir George Grey, I have to acknowledge the receipt of a small box, containing a gold bijou, sent by you to the Queen, as a present for his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales; but in consequence of the very great number of presents which have been offered, not to offend individuals, such presents are declined generally.

"But, Sir, you will allow me to add that, thinking it a great pity that the source of generosity should be stopped by the formality of etiquette, I would advise you—the Prince of Wales being amply provided for with all things—to inquire about your own neighbourhood whether there are not very many little boys who would, to their great benefit, gladly receive the amount of any present you would otherwise send to Windsor Castle. Why, Sir, should you make a present of the contents of a salt-box to the sea, when, no doubt, there are so many who have not a morsel of the article wherewith to flavour their potatoes?

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
"DENNIS LE MARCHANT."

ARTIFICIAL STONE.—A patent has been obtained for a process by which artificial stone, of various qualities may be produced. This invention is, from its cheapness, a great advantage for all the purposes of architectural decoration, and from its plastic nature before it becomes hard, of great service to sculptors in taking casts of statuettes, busts, &c.; and even of figures of the size of life. The cost is in all cases where carving is required in stone, in which this composition is substituted, less by nine-tenths. The invention is founded on the chemical analysis of the natural varieties of stone, and the manufacture is capable of such modifications as are requisite to produce all the varieties. The artificial stone produced is less absorbent than natural stone, and is superior in compactness of texture, and will resist frost, damp, and the chemical acids. It is made of flints and siliceous grit, sand, &c. rendered fluid by heat, and poured into moulds as required till cool and hardened. Its strength and solidity enable it to resist more blows than real stone.

EGG AND LADLE RACE.—ARISTOCRATIC RECREATIONS.—The Duke of Devonshire and a distinguished party were, during last week, on a short visit to Temple-Newsam, the seat of Mynell Ingram, Esq. It is owing, we understand, to the ingenuity of the noble duke and the spirit of the ladies that our fair readers will be indebted for an addition to their limited enjoyments in the open air. As the sport has not been heard of in this part of the country before, we shall take upon ourselves to term it "The Egg and Ladle Race." It is thus;—A number of wooden ladles are procured for behoof of the ingenious and distinguished nobleman. These have each an egg deposited in the bowl. Every fair competitor then takes a ladle, and being ranged side by side with arm and ladle outstretched, waits for the signal.—The distance is measured, say 100 yards, and the condition is, that the winner must arrive first at the goal without dropping her egg. On the interesting occasion referred to, a very spirited contest took place. When the signal was given, off started the high-bred and lovely dames, pushing each her ladle and egg as far before her neighbour as possible.—Miss I—— m took the lead, and kept it nobly till within a few yards of the winning